ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

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PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

VOLUME LXXV

PRINTED AT OXFORD

BY JOHN JOHNSON FOR

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

AND SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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I.—*The Roman Baths at Bath; with an Account of the Excavations conducted during* 1923. *By* W. H. Knowles, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 20th November 1924

The town or settlement of ancient Aquae Sulis comprised an area of less than thirty acres. It was encircled on three sides by the river Avon, and almost surrounded by the lofty outliers of Cotswold and Mendip. The situation was an attractive one, and singularly appropriate for the important structures contained within the walled area. The baths occupied a central position in the town, and were in length at least one-third of its width from east to west.

After the depredations of Saxon and Norman masons, decay and the natural accumulations of mother earth speedily concealed the ruins. It was not until 1755, although from time to time referred to by historians, that the extent and importance of the buildings were realized. At that date the removal of the Abbey House revealed the easternmost portion of the bathing establishment, as recorded on a plan made at the time by Dr. Lucas [1] (fig. 4) and another plan by Dr. Sutherland in 1763.[2] These plans show the arrangement of the apartments during the last period of the Roman occupation, a goodly portion of which was unfortunately obliterated by the building operations that succeeded their disclosure.

Further discoveries were made in 1790 and 1822, but it was not until 1878 and the ensuing quarter of a century that the Great Bath and other apartments familiar to all visitors were revealed. During this period Major C. E. Davis continuously laboured with commendable energy and enthusiasm to lay bare the work as we now see it, and it is to be regretted that as city architect he should in turn have overbuilt and obscured so much of his own discoveries.

The Excavations

The site of the Roman work first disclosed in 1755 is that which has been recently excavated. On it in 1763 a set of baths was erected by the then duke

[1] *Essay on Waters*, by Charles Lucas.

[2] *Attempts to Revive Ancient Medical Doctrine*, by Alex. Sutherland.

of Kingston. These buildings, obsolete and dilapidated, the city corporation determined to remove in 1924, and on the suggestion of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments I undertook the direction of the work when demolition had reached the depth where ancient work might be expected. The operations have been difficult, as the foundations of the Kingston Baths were built in cement and carried to a considerable depth, the general floor-level of the Roman work being 16 ft. below that of the present street. I have not made separate plans of the

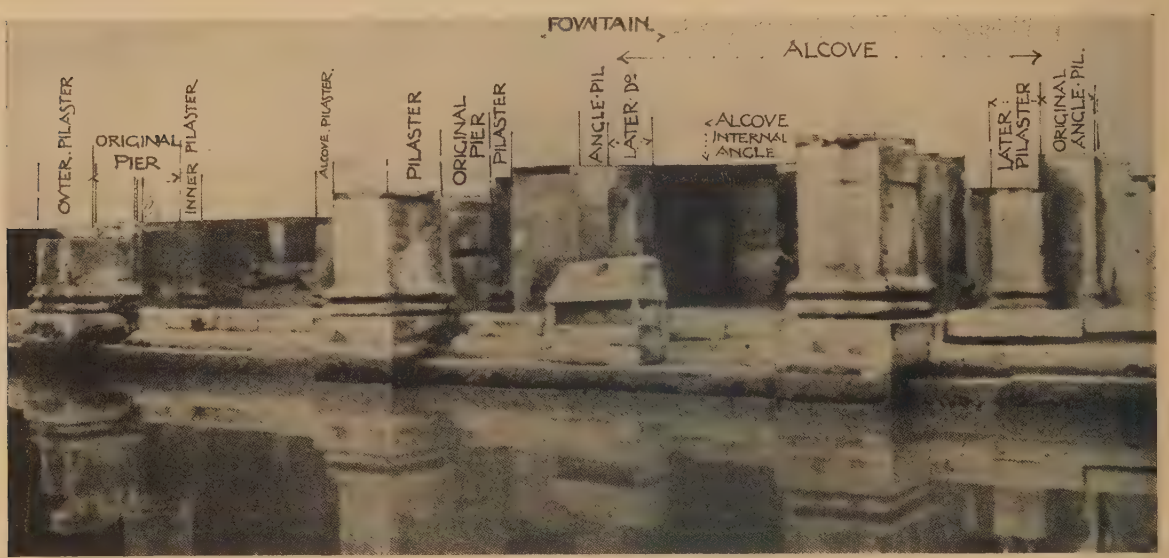
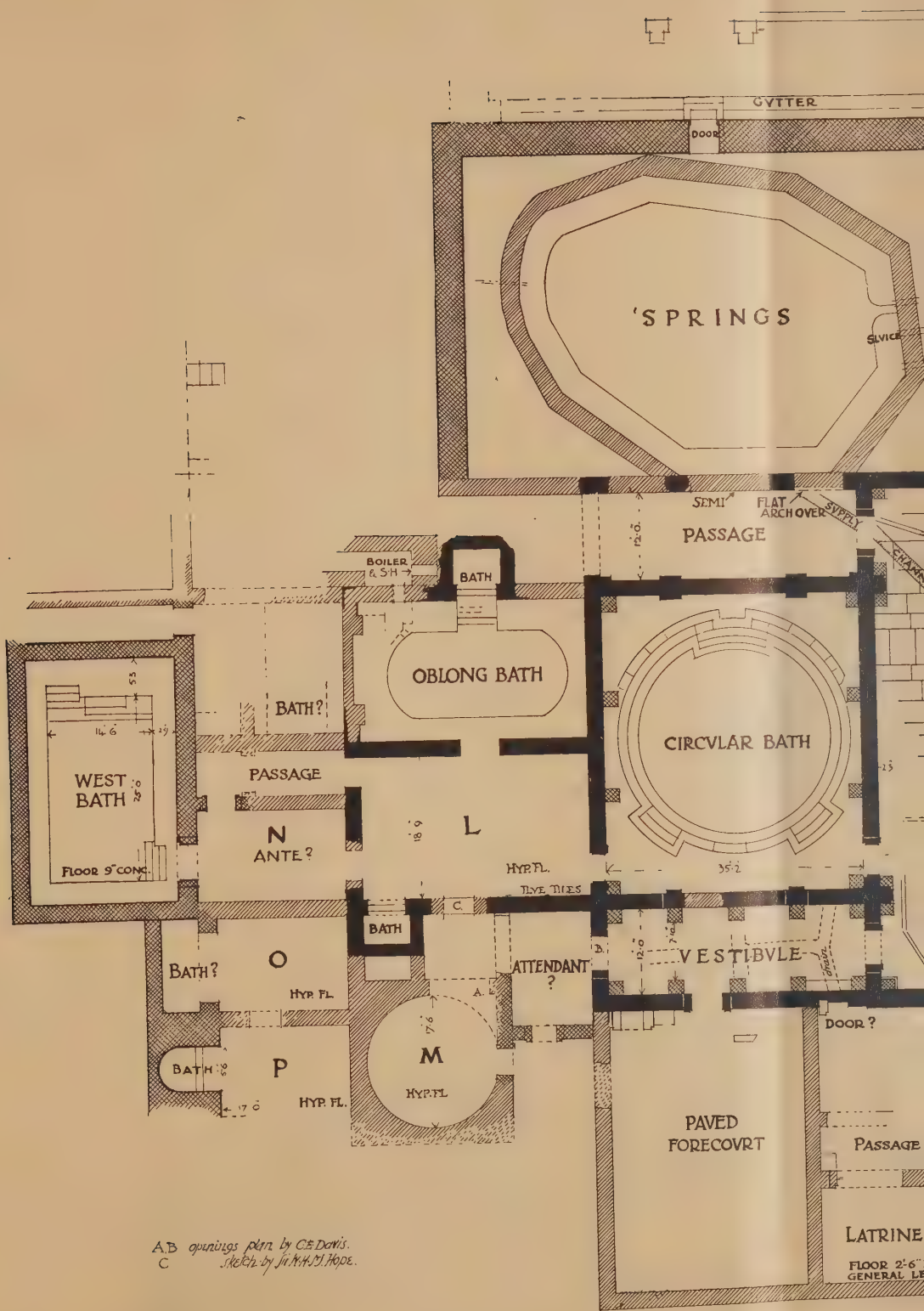


Fig. 1. View of north side of Great Bath.

excavated area, but have incorporated the results in a general survey of the whole range of bath buildings. The latter I was induced to attempt because, first, some of the features of the newly excavated swimming bath named the East Bath (pl. 1) will be more easily understood by reference to the Great Bath, and secondly, the plans heretofore published of the whole of these important buildings are inaccurate in several details, and omit obvious items which go towards the elucidation of the use of the place.

The recently discovered buildings are to remain open to view. They comprise a swimming bath belonging to the first building period, with its major axis to the north and south, being at right angles to the axis of the Great Bath; and, yet farther to the east and occupying an area equal to that of the swimming bath, a number of apartments erected at three successive building periods.


GVTTER
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'SPRINGS
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CIRCVLAR BATH
BATH?
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L
FLOOR 9" CONC.
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BATH?
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ATTENDANT ?
VESTIBVLE
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P
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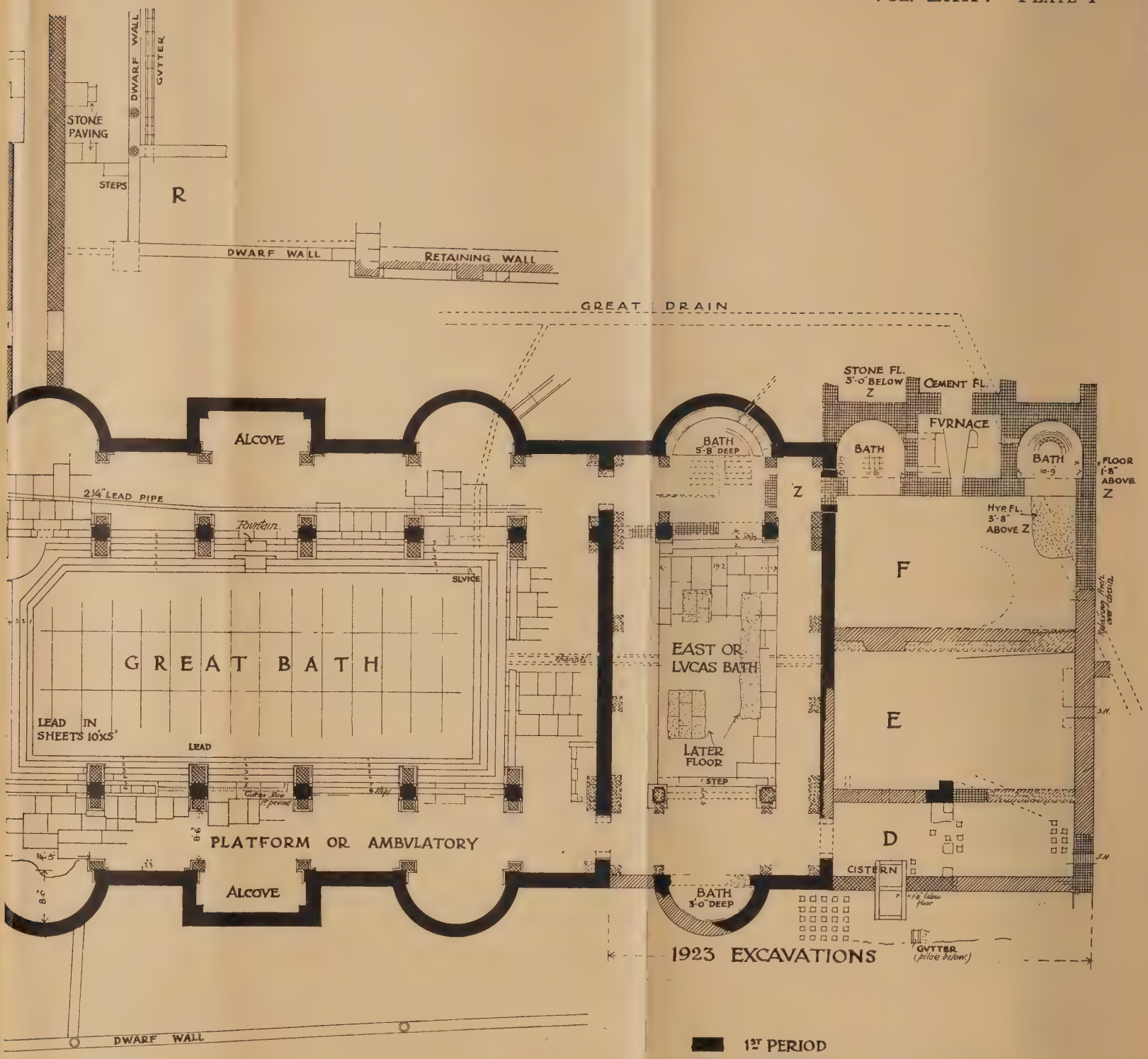
PAVED FORECOVRT
Passage
LATRINE
FLOOR 2'-6"
GENERAL LE
A,B openings plan by C.E. Davis.
C Sketch by Jn. M.H.M. Hope.

THE RO



BATHS AT BATH: GENERAL PLAN

ed by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

The apartment containing the swimming bath measures on the interior 68 ft. 6 in. from north to south by 34 ft. 3 in. from east to west (pl. 1). It was divided longitudinally into five bays by projecting pilasters. Transversely between the first and fourth pilasters were two large square piers. The basin corresponded in length to the three central bays. The area of the outer bays, between the piers and the end walls, divided the swimming bath from two apsidal baths which projected beyond the end, or north and south, walls. The area served also as a passage between the buildings on either side, being a continuation of the similar feature in the Great Bath. The walls enclosing the basin were built between and abutted on the interior face of the plinth of the piers.

The various piers and pilasters shown on the plan (pl. 1) are at least of two dates; only the four piers and the pilasters enclosing the angles of the apsidal baths belong to the first period (pl. II).

The four piers (pl. II) are of similar design to those of the Great Bath (figs. 2 and 3); they are built up of stones 2 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 8 in. on plan, with rebated angles 4 in. deep. The two outer faces form pilasters and have moulded bases returned into the rebated spaces, and stopped against the inner side jambs which are without mouldings. The plinths are continued to the level of the floor of the basin (fig. 2).

Pilasters with moulded bases of the same date as the piers enclosed the angles of the apsidal baths. Their position is not exactly in rear of the piers, as the distance between the latter is less than the width of the apsidal baths.

The basin 43 ft. by 19 ft. 2 in. is 6 ft. deep. Only the north wall exists to the full height: it is built of excellent masonry similar to the plinths of the contiguous piers. In the structure of the wall three massive stone steps are incorporated (fig. 2). No doubt similar steps occurred at the south end, where only one now remains. The side walls were formed of small stones in courses coated with cement. The floor of the surrounding platform, carried to the edge of the basin, was composed of large rectangular stones 8 to 10 in. in thickness. The floor of the basin was paved in like manner, covered with a layer of cement, and overlaid with heavy sheets of lead about half an inch in thickness. A slight fragment of the lead is to be seen at the north-west angle.

The water to the basin was supplied from the Great Bath on the western side, and the outlet provided in the opposite wall. Both inlet and outlet consisted of long, deeply hollowed channel stones 19 in. by 15 in. (fig. 2). The means of regulating the admission and outflow do not now exist nor does the cover of the channel stone.

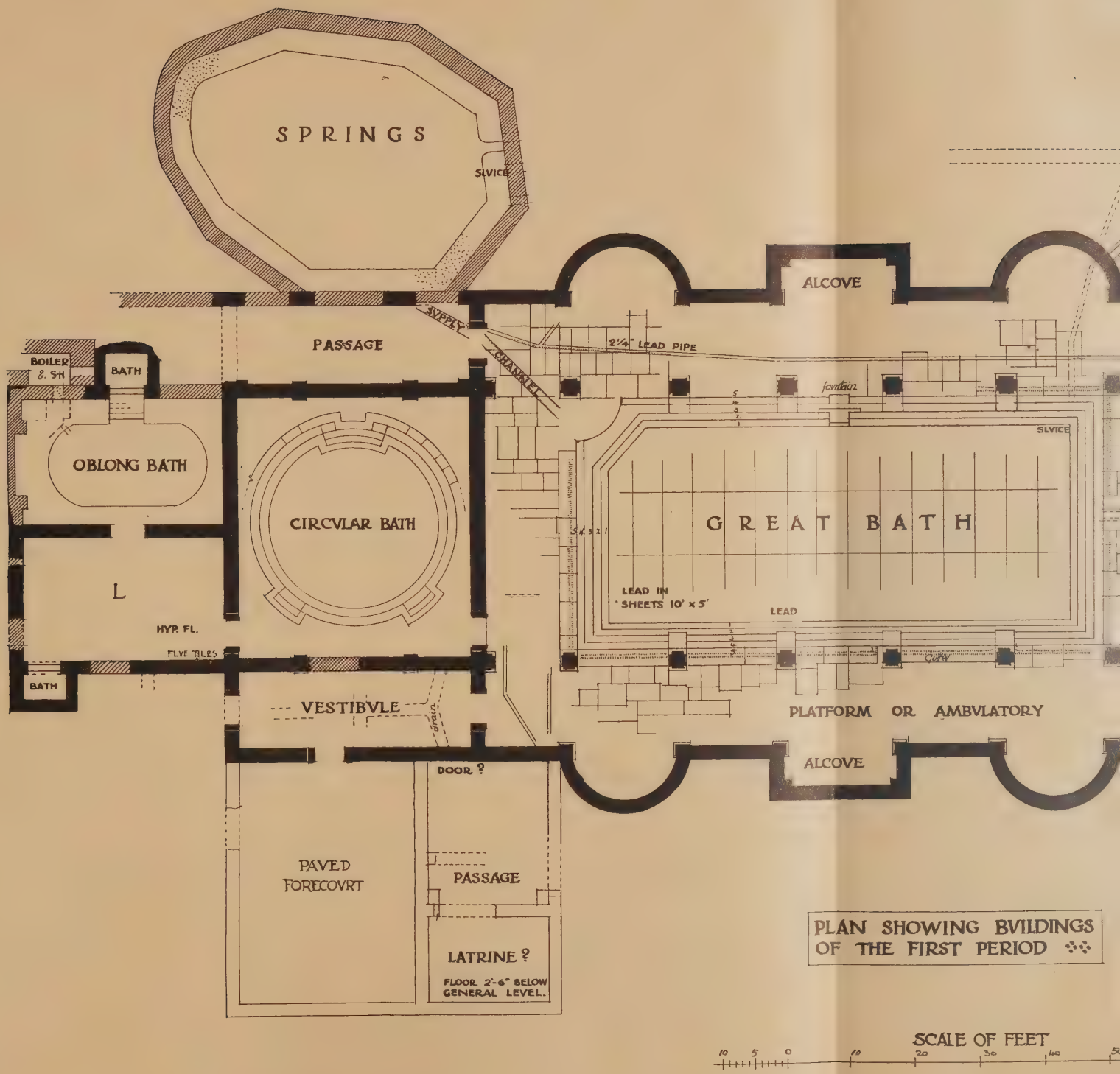
The northern apsidal bath was 17 ft. across its base, and 5 ft. 6 in. in depth

(see section fig. 2). It was furnished with a seat of built-up ashlar, the lowest course being a projecting ovolo, and the upper a thin shelf with a rounded nosing. The paving is of thick flagstones. The outlet for emptying the water is worked in the ovolo. Only the two lower steps remain. On the 1755 plan (fig. 4) six are shown divided by a mid-wall, on the top of which was a sinking in continuation of the floor channel proceeding from the Great Bath. Above the seat-level the walls were thickly coated with a double layer of cement.

The southern apsidal bath was of much simpler construction: the interior walls and floor—without seat or visible stonework—were coated with cement with the usual ovolo at the intersection. No steps now exist: they are indicated on Dr. Sutherland's plan as similar to those in the north bath, although the depth of the south bath is only 3 feet as compared with 5 ft. 6 in. of the northern one.

Fragments of the massive jambs of an entrance door, afterwards built up, still exist at the east end of the north passage or platform (see pl. II and fig. 2) and another is indicated on one of the early plans at the opposite end. There can be little doubt as to the existence of similar openings at either end of the south passage, thus providing convenient communication with the eastern and the western sections of the complete establishment.

Adjoining to and contemporary with the building of the swimming bath was a large oblong tank or reservoir (pl. II), measuring within the walls 39 ft. 9 in. by 14 ft. 6 in. by 7 ft. deep. At the time of its erection (pl. II) it was inaccessible from the interior of the swimming bath, and the tank was without platform save for a narrow walk on the west side 2 ft. 9 in. in width. The walls on the interior were faced with ashlar in narrow courses coated with cement. The eastern wall was strengthened by two buttresses projecting into the interior of the tank, fig. 2 (2, 2*a*), formed of a large footing stone, 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., and over it another, 2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 10 in. in height. On the opposite or west wall were buttresses of less projection incorporated with the side walk (pl. II and 1 and 1*a*, fig. 2). The floor is a very solid one of stones 15 in. in thickness. It was covered with heavy lead, of which a portion is to be seen below the projecting inlet water channel (fig. 2). In the north-east corner the flooring stones do not occur; instead is some shallow masonry suggestive of a platform or steps. In the west wall by the side of the water channel (sections fig. 2) are two splayed springer stones, apparently of an arched cover. The outlet drain for emptying the water was a massive construction at the south-east angle, and consisted of flooring stones 5 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in., rebated on the edges to receive the side stones of similar length by 2 ft. 10 in. in height. The manner of covering the drain is not apparent. A built-up stone pier in the



PLAN SHOWING BVILDINGS OF THE FIRST PERIOD ⁘

THE ROMAN BATHS AT BATH: PLANS SH

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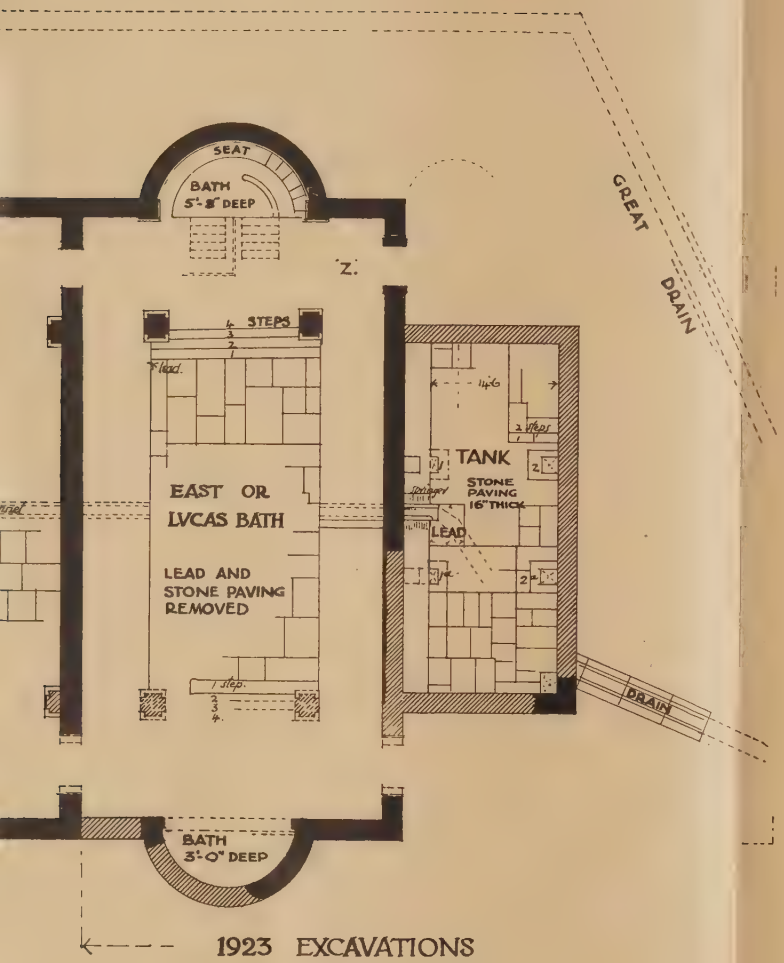
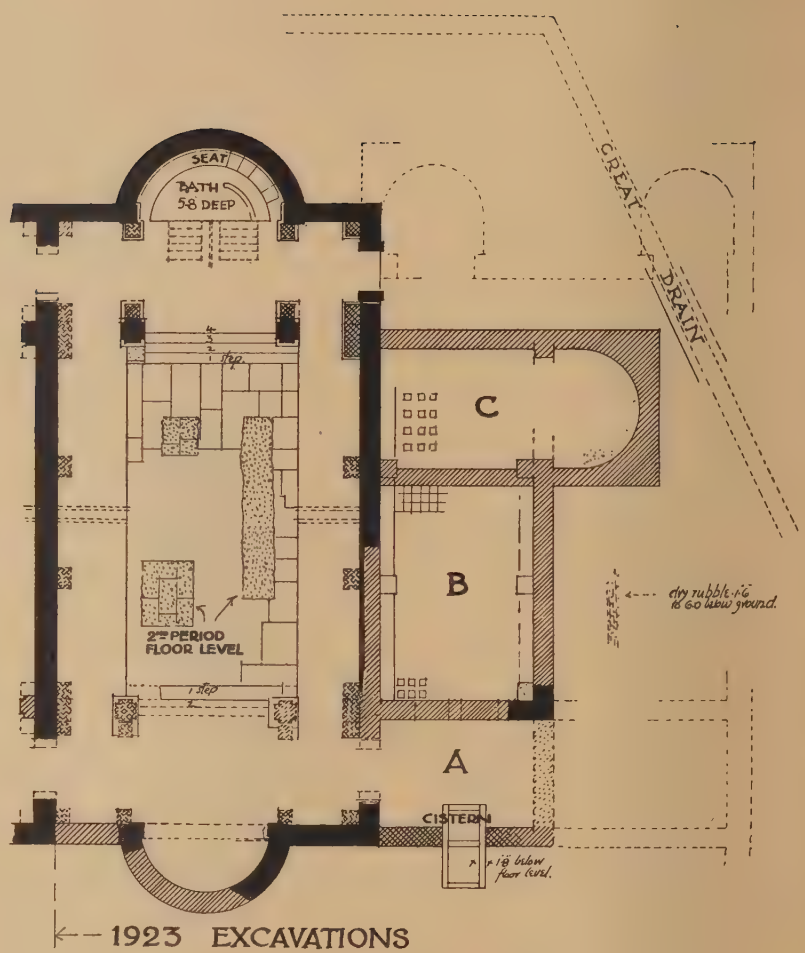




SECOND PERIOD WORK

1ST PERIOD
SVBSEQVENT OR 2ND PERIOD
3RD PERIOD
FOVNDATIONS

W. H. KNOWLES, F.S.A. MENS. ET DEL. 1923.

ING BUILDINGS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PERIODS

ociety of Antiquaries of London, 1926

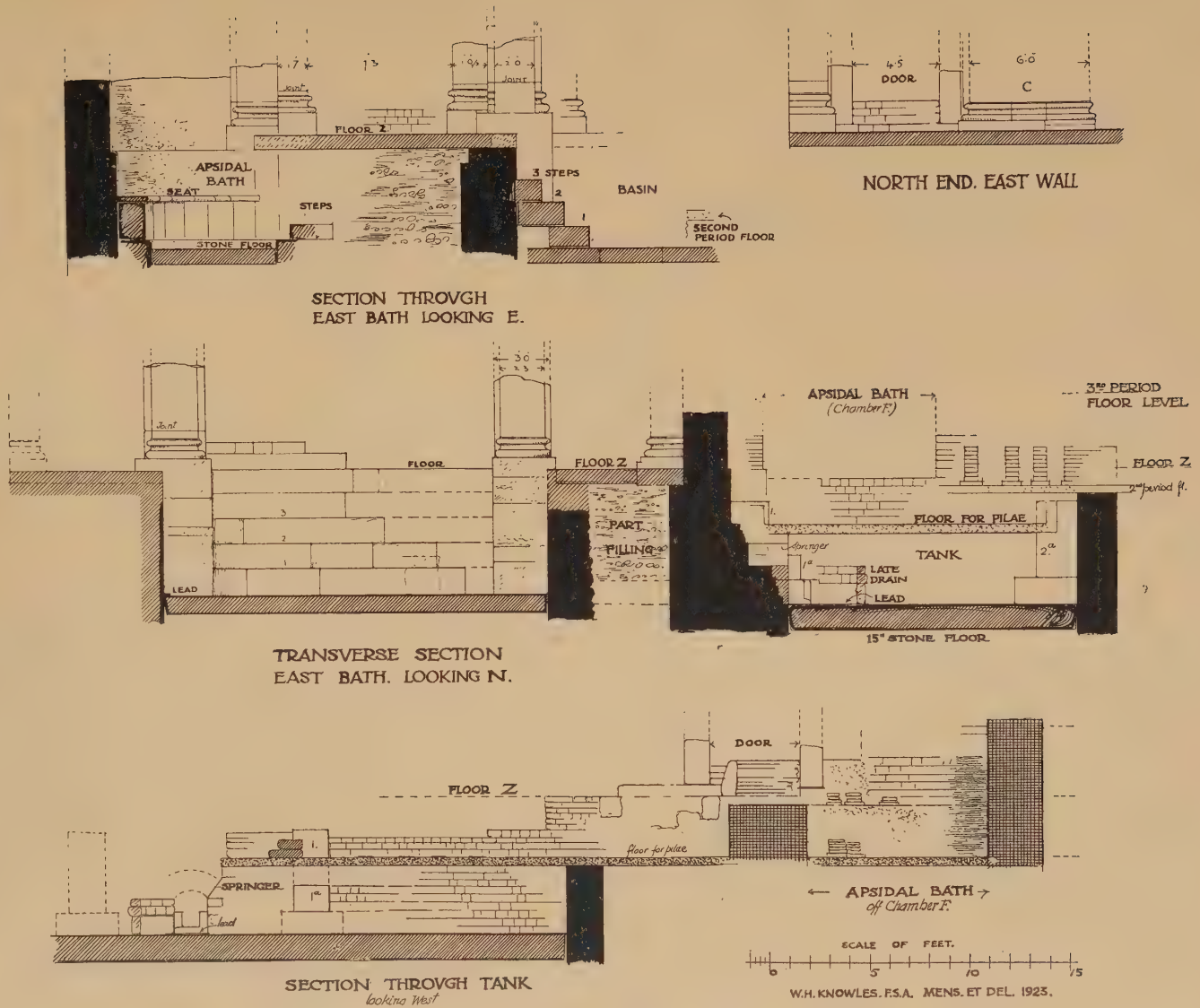


Fig. 2. Details of East or Lucas Bath.

south-east angle of the tank near the drain outlet may possibly have carried some portion of the mechanism for discharging the water.

As to the purpose of the tank, certainly the intrusion of the buttresses on the interior and the absence of an appropriate platform or steps preclude the idea that it could have been used as a bathing or swimming bath. With greater probability it served some practical purpose, the large solid stone blocks forming the buttresses being intended not only to strengthen the walls, but to carry beams or to support some mechanical appliance.[1]

Both bath and tank belong to and formed part of the earliest group of buildings erected on the site; they are shown on pl. II in conjunction with the Great Bath and the Circular Bath, with which they are to be associated. The subsequent development of the whole will be considered later.

To continue the record of the excavated portion, the first change in the details of the plan of the swimming bath was made by the addition of a number of wall pilasters (pl. II, second period work).

In the Great Bath a like addition was made to the first structural piers, where the reason for, and the manner of, execution are quite evident. Briefly stated, in the Great Bath only the platform or ambulatory was roofed in the first instance, and was carried on the basin side by the central portion of the piers (fig. 3). Afterwards a great brick and tile vault was thrown over the basin, and was supported on an addition to the piers on the basin side; further to strengthen the piers they were increased on the platform side, and corresponding pilasters added exactly to the rear of them near the angles of the circular and square alcoves (fig. 1).[2]

Whether the space about the basin of the East Bath was also unroofed at first it is impossible to say. Nor does it appear that the numerous pilasters described below were added long after the first design was carried out. Indeed it is even possible that they were the result of an alteration effected almost before the completion of the first conception. Clearly no foundation below the floor-level was provided to receive the pilasters, which were clumsily executed. Their base mouldings are set at irregular levels and no attempt was made to join or mitre them with the adjacent bases in a workmanlike way.

Pilasters opposite to and of similar width to the piers and two intermediates were placed on the east and west walls. Others combined with the piers on the passage side had corresponding pilasters immediately to their rear near the angles of the apsidal baths (pl. II), intended to receive arches or beams.

[1] A reservoir of similar plan is represented in Mau, *Pompeii*, ed. 1899, p. 226.

[2] It will be noted that the original angle pilasters are not precisely opposite the piers, and were consequently unsuited to receive the necessary arch or beam at the point.

Yet more though smaller pilasters were added in the interior angles of the passages, and of the central area occupied by the basin. The continuous base moulding for the pilaster opposite the east pier and of the two adjoining angle pilasters will be observed at *c* on fig. 2.[1]

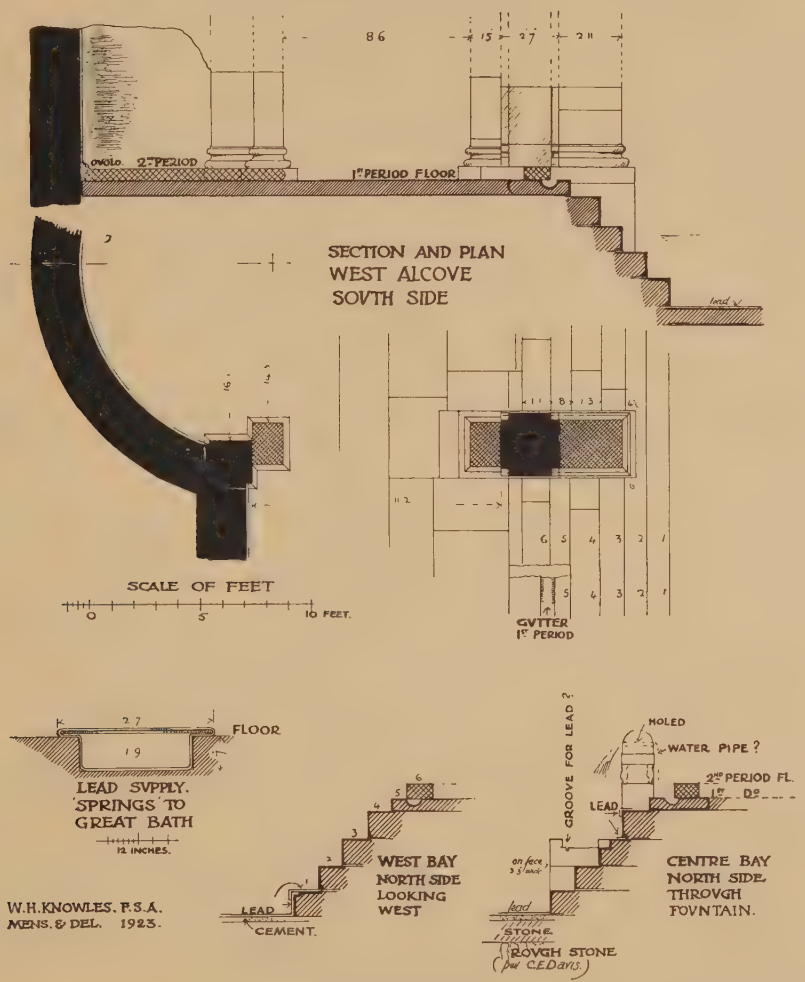


Fig. 3. Details of Great Bath.

In the Great Bath are fragments of the barrel vault which spanned the area, but nothing has been found during the present excavations to suggest how the East Bath was roofed or the manner of lighting it.

The first change to be effected in the contiguous area was the filling in of the tank or reservoir to a height 3 ft. below the general floor-level. The lead

[1] A coin of Hadrian was found adhering to the underside of one of the fallen added bases.

covering the original floor was removed, and the water inlet and outlet connected by a drain with walled sides indicated by dotted lines (pl. II, first period and fig. 2). The filling, 4 ft. in height, to receive the new floor was composed of large stones, laid roughly in courses, set on edge.

At the north end of the east side (see pl. II, second period work) the upper portion of the tank wall was taken down, and a spacious semicircular projection erected, with pilasters at the opening. The extent of this addition was dictated by the proximity of the great drain, which is at a higher level than that of the hypocaust floor. In line with the south side of the apsidal projection a wall was continued westwards across the tank space forming the chamber C. The concrete floor, 6 in. thick, passes over the reduced tank wall into the extension. Above the remainder of the tank area, B on plan, the floor was narrower by 16 in. on either side, the cement forming it being upturned on the face of a dwarf wall (fig. 2, transverse section) forming a seat, a bench to carry walled box tiles, or an indication that for a short period the enclosed space may have been used as a shallow tank or bath, suggested by the presence of floor tiles at the north end, although there are no indications of water service at the level to support the idea.

A floor at the same level also covers the narrower area A, enclosed by thin walls resembling the tank masonry, being a continuation of the south wall of the tank and the south wall of the swimming bath. The floor was not the suspensura of the apartments, of which there is no indication, but that to receive the hypocaust pilae, which are of 9 in. by 9 in. tiles with wide joints, excepting at the north-west corner of chamber C, where are solid channels or flues much charred by fire. The furnace, it is reasonable to assume, was contiguous to the solid flues, the later furnace being near it and the position being apparently convenient for fuel storage. Openings were broken through the south wall of chamber B for the passage of warm air. There is no floor or pilae at the level in the area immediately to the north and east of chambers B and C, excepting at the north-west corner of C. East of B was found a rough dry wall where indicated on plan, 1 ft. 6 in. to 6 ft. below the floor-level, scarcely strong enough to be regarded as a retaining wall.

Only a few courses of stonework remain of the apsidal projection, and of the wall across the tank in continuation of its south side. The extent eastwards of the southern chamber A is not apparent. It may in the first instance (there are slight indications of footings to justify the suggestion) have corresponded with the width of apartment B. In it is a stone cistern 8 ft. by 4 ft. on the interior; the sides, 6 in. thick, are V-grooved on the beds and vertical joints to receive cement. The cistern had a central stone division, half of it projecting beyond the walls of the chamber (pl. II); there is no opening for water inlet,

outlet, or overflow, but these may have been worked on an upper course.[1] The bottom of the cistern is 20 in. below the floor-level just described. Unless the hypocaust of A was shallow, the cistern must have been a deep one. Possibly, if the area was used as suggested below, this portion was at the outset without a hypocaust when used in conjunction with B and C.

The arrangement of the rooms is unquestionably that of a typical sudatory bathing-place on a small or preliminary scale, the southern chamber A with its cold cistern serving for apodyterium,[2] the middle chamber B for tepidarium and the northern for caldarium, with labrum in the apsidal space, and an oblong bath at the west end near the assumed position of the furnace.

The alterations which followed on those just described extended the similar accommodation to double the area, and formed the third building period (pl. 1). Of the northern portion sufficient remains to determine the details of the design, but unfortunately such is not the case with regard to the southern section.

The space enclosed within the external walls measures approximately 90 ft. by 40 ft. It was divided into three oblong apartments, D, E, and F (pl. 1), and opening off the latter was an apsidal bath on either side of a large central furnace.

Here as elsewhere, when alterations were effected in Roman buildings, the old structures were dismantled and the site levelled over. About chamber F the operation resulted in raising the height of the new floor, to receive the hypocaust pilae, 2 ft. above the similar floor of the second building period (fig. 2, transverse section). Yet, strangely, there is a floor to the western apsidal bath with pilae at the second or lower building level.[3]

At the outset the discovery of the constructions at the lowest level suggested that there had been two building periods, of identical design to the third period. Excepting, however, as previously mentioned, at the north-west angle where the second period hypocaust floor is continued to the wall of the apsidal bath, about Z on plan, there is no evidence of walls, floors, or pilae which can be associated with work at the lower level. Instead, therefore, of two periods it would appear that the occurrence is evidence merely of a false start on the enlarged scheme, which required adjustment to the levels of the great culvert which traverses the north-east angle of the chamber (pl. 1).

[1] See illustration of similar cistern found at Corstopitum, *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix, 248.

[2] In the hypocaust built over the spot is a stone with a pierced arch resembling the recesses allocated for clothing in the apodyterium at Chesters. Dr. Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 3rd ed. (1885), p. 99, and plan of similar building at Aesica, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xvii, 32.

[3] In the western bath the pavement at the lowest level is of 'variegated rows (squares) of pebbles and red bricks' as mentioned by Dr. Lucas.

The exterior walls of the third building period on the north and east sides are 3 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. in thickness, much stronger than the earlier work. On reference to the plan (pl. 1) it will be observed that the north wall does not line with that of the east, the Great, or the Circular Bath, but is midway in the width of the north passage or ambulatory, and effectively blocked the door leading therefrom, which was accordingly built up. The eastern wall was carried over the great drain on a flat segmental relieving arch. The western half of the wall dividing the first and second apartments E, F was built on the hypocaust floor of the second period. The foundations of the walls of the long narrow apartment D to the south were much deeper.

The chamber F measures between the walls 39 ft. 6 in. by 21 ft. 6 in. A portion of its floor remains at the north-east corner, 10 in. thick, supported on rather attenuated pilae formed of 9 in. by 9 in. tiles with thick mortar joints. On the north side two apsidal baths about 11 ft. at the base, and 9 ft. to the crown opened off the chamber. In the eastern one the floor is 18 in. below that of the chamber, and was covered with a tessellated pavement, a goodly portion of which remains in the curved portion of the bath. The pattern of the border comprised a number of concentric rings of small stone and slate blocks with an inner margin of alternating black and white blocks arranged in a triangular pattern.[1] Broken fragments of like design and at the same level occur in the western bath. The walls are covered with cement in two layers, and at the junction of wall and floor is the usual quarter-round skirting.

Between the baths is a furnace of ample dimensions with walls for the support of boilers and tanks, and openings to the chamber F with side ducts carried below the baths. The side walls of both furnace and baths were continued northwards, and afforded storage room for the necessary fuel. There was considerable charcoal deposit in the area.

The second apartment E is the same size as F. Over the eastern portion there is much disturbed and decayed concrete, indicating the hypocaust floor as lower than that of chamber F. In the eastern wall are some charred masses of masonry about supplementary stoke-holes.

The third chamber, D, was a long narrow one—it measures 39 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. The existing hypocaust floor is at the level of the second period over the tank; at the eastern end is a stoke-hole, with a quantity of pilae including re-used material, among which is the pierced arched stone already referred to. The cistern, previously mentioned when describing the second building period, is at too low a level to be related to the period under consideration.

The arrangement and details of the apartments D, E, and F are conclusive

[1] The pattern, if it was alike in both baths, does not agree in design with that shown in *V. C. H. Somerset*, i, p. 256, fig. 30, and assumed to belong to the western bath.

as to the sudatory accommodation provided alongside the purely thermal establishment which was the origin of the place. The chamber D represents the apodyterium, E the tepidarium, and F the caldarium.

Before leaving this section attention should be drawn to Dr. Lucas's plan made in 1755 (fig. 4). Although the precise details may be doubtful, the position of the wall dividing the two hypocaust apartments is confirmed by the slight

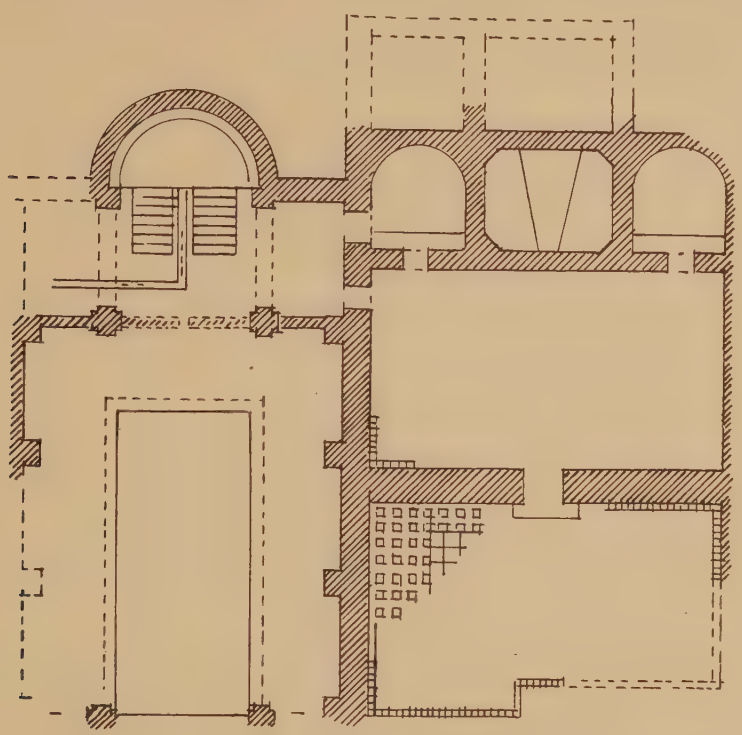


Fig. 4. Dr. Lucas's Plan, 1755.

remains now left. On Dr. Sutherland's plan (1763) the walls of the chambers are shown lined with flue tiles.

We have seen that, by the erection of the buildings covering the eastern half of the excavated area, the east door of the northern passage of the east swimming bath was blocked; consequent on this some modifications were made, which included the building up of the openings between the northern piers of the East Bath, as shown on plan (pl. 1). It is not, however, certain to what height those walls were carried; that is, whether they were high enough to shut off communication between the passage and the basin, or merely dwarf walls, although a built-up stool at the north-west angle of the basin (pl. 11, second period, and transverse section, fig. 2) suggests a means of access to the steps after the closing in of the north end.

Either at this or at some other period, the depth of the basin was decreased 2 ft. by the formation of a floor of concrete, 6 in. thick, over a solid filling of debris. At the time, the lead covering the basin as first constructed was removed, and, a rather interesting occurrence, a goodly portion of the heavy flooring stones was removed; see the plan (pls. I and II) where the remaining flooring stones are indicated. The stones or lead were re-used to cover the raised cement floor on which the impression of their size and shape is to be observed.

On Dr. Lucas's plan (fig. 4) the swimming-bath is shown much shorter, the platform being carried across the north end of the basin within the piers. There is now no evidence of this curtailment. Dr. Sutherland's plan shows the shortened bath, and also at the south end an apsidal bath similar to that at the north end, apparently by conjecture only, as it is both smaller and shallower.

It should be noted that the evidence is not conclusive as to the limits of the establishment. To the east and south beyond the walls of the excavated area are floors and pilae of unknown extent.

General Survey

That we may understand the original design of the bathing establishment it will be necessary, very briefly, to examine the accommodation as shown on the plan (pl. I). Of the numerous baths of varying size and shape five at least were intended for swimming, and the remainder are large and deep enough for the immersion of several bathers at one time.

It is not possible with certainty to determine a strictly chronological plan showing the sequence of the erections of the various parts, but it may be reasonably affirmed that the earliest buildings (see pl. II) included the large swimming or Great Bath, the East Bath and the tank recently excavated, the Circular Bath, with the passages north and south of it, and the reservoir enclosing the springs. Probably some of the chambers immediately to the west of the Circular Bath are contemporary with it, and only the alterations or parts obviously of later date have been so indicated on the plans. Essentially the largest and dominant feature of the whole is the Great Bath, with its huge pond and colonnaded ambulatory; from it access was afforded on the east to the East or Lucas Bath, the great tank and sudatory baths beyond, and on the west to the Circular, the Oval, and sudatory baths.

On the interior the Great Bath measures 111 ft. 4 in. by 68 ft. 6 in. It is divided into seven bays by massive square piers placed on the edge of the pond or basin which they enclose. The space to the rear of the piers forms a platform or ambulatory surrounding the pond. On the north and south sides there are one square and two apsidal projecting alcoves. Only the side ambula-

tories and the alcoves were roofed during the earliest building period. The central area over the basin was vaulted over at a later date. Originally the sides of the basin were formed of five steps, the topmost with a channel on the edge (see fig. 3). At a later date a new floor was needed and added to the depth of the basin, the outer stone of the platform covering the water channel of the first period.[1]

To the east of the Great Bath was the East or Lucas Bath, already described in detail, with its platform on the north and south in continuation of the similar feature of the Great Bath. Farther east, and at a later date, was erected the large sudatory bath which blocked the northern ambulatory but not the southern, which afforded a convenient entrance and communication thereto.

To the west of the Great Bath is the Circular Bath, 32 feet in diameter, with moulded coping and descending steps at three points. The apartment in which it is placed is 40 ft. by 35 ft. 2 in., relieved on the north and south sides by pilasters worked in stones the thickness of the wall. On the east and west sides are added pilasters, the mouldings of their bases of finer section than elsewhere. On three sides there is little margin between the walls and basin; on the fourth, the south, is a broad platform with a door at both the east and west end, the former opening off the Great Bath, the latter communicating with the apartments beyond.

North and south of the Circular Bath are corridors or vestibules, in continuation of the north and south ambulatories of the Great Bath. The southern vestibule opens off a large paved forecourt, and has door openings into the Great Bath and the apartments to the west. Subsequent to the first construction this vestibule was divided into four bays by stunted pilasters with chamfered

[1] The floor of the basin, which measures about 73 ft. by 29 ft., was of large stones covered with thick lead, in sheets about 10 ft. by 5 ft. bedded in cement. The edges of the sheets were not lapped but merely butted, and were apparently united or run together with a hot tool. It is uncertain whether the steps were covered with lead: the meagre evidence of such does not bear out the theory. One instance of the presence of lead about the steps appears at the north-west angle where is the inlet from the springs, and where a certain provision may have been made, by way of an apron piece, to receive the constant flow of water.

The other fragment of lead above the floor-level is about a fountain placed midway in the length of the north side, and here again the provision seems to be where running water occurs (fig. 3). The fountain is 3 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 7 in. on plan by 3 ft. 3 in. in height (fig. 3) adorned with small pilasters and now worn to a rounded shape on top, although once carved with animals (see the Corbridge Lion on coping of a tank, *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., iv, 205). It is pierced by a hole from back to front conceivably to receive a pipe from which water was spurted into a trough or shelf below, and fed from the $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. lead pipe passing down the northern ambulatory—possibly fresh cold water for the use of the bathers.

The water supply between the springs and the bath was of boxed lead (shown in section fig. 3). The outlet for emptying the bath was by a bronze sluice at the north-east angle of the basin, over which was a grated overflow, both discharging into the great drain.

bases and moulded capitals. In the northern corridor pilasters of slight projection occur, worked on the same stone as the similar feature towards the Circular Bath, and enriched by flutings filled with caplings. On the north wall of this corridor are portions of two stone arched openings.

The remaining buildings to the west of the Circular Bath are wholly below the floor-level, and incorporated in the foundations of modern structures. Notwithstanding that much has been destroyed it is possible to determine the design of the apartments.

Immediately to the west and opening out of the Circular Bath is a large chamber, L on plan (pl. 1), and an oval bath. Together they conform to the design and symmetry of the plan inclusive of the Great, the East, and the Circular baths, and may be considered as contemporary therewith. The chamber L measures 31 ft. by 19 ft. The walls were jacketed with flue tiles, and the floor was of unusual thickness, being pierced by horizontal flue tiles and carried on tiled pilae. In the south-west corner is a small bath with steps descending to it. The stoke-hole or furnace was to the south.

Opening off this chamber was an oval bath, the walls coated with cement, and the side walks of stone with square nosing to the basin. The outlet for emptying the bath is at the north-west corner, where is a large drain discharging to the west.

In the centre of the north side is a small bath, the steps to which are somewhat awkwardly contrived. The water for this bath was heated by a small boiler placed in its west wall over a fire-hole, both openings being spanned with a double ring of arched tiles.

Whether or not the oval bath is contemporary with the circular one, it may reasonably be inferred that a period elapsed between the erection of the Oval Bath and the buildings to the west of it. The alterations in the direction of the drain near the apsidal bath and its heating arrangement justify the inference.

The circular chamber M, 17 ft. 6 in. in diameter, to the south of L, was destroyed above the floor line in 1886, excepting the base of the stone door jambs on the east side. A sketch made at the time by Sir W. H. St. John Hope indicates an opening between the chambers L and M, and on a plan dated 1886 by Major C. E. Davis is delineated the connexion as shown on the plan [1] (pl. 1). Opening off the west end of chamber L is an ante-room N, which gives access to the West swimming bath, and it may be to the apartments O and P. Both have hypocaust floors and small baths at the west end, that belonging to the southern apartment being semicircular on plan with a stoke-hole below.

[1] *Guide to the Roman Baths at Bath*, C. E. Davis, 1890.

The West Swimming Bath measures between the walls 33 ft. by 20 ft. Steps occur at the east side and the north end. The floor is of concrete and the walls of brick, covered with thick cement. The stones forming the platform on the north and west sides are grooved and chamfered (fig. 5), on the two other sides they are square only. On the west side are a few courses of masonry above the platform-level covered with cement, and with the usual ovolo.

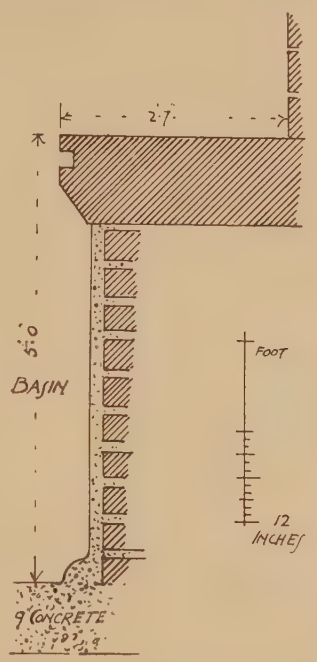


Fig. 5. Section through West Bath.

At the north-west angle of chamber L is a door opening into a passage, and in the south wall of the passage is a door giving on to the ante-room, and in the north wall a small bath. The work hereabouts has been much destroyed.

Before leaving this group of apartments the central position of chamber L should be noted; from it access to the apartments to the south and west of it is readily obtained, indeed, it seems to serve the purpose of a dressing-room or apodyterium to the whole. Alternatively the intercommunication of chambers L and M with its eastern entrance may suggest that instead of L being a possible dressing-room and M a sort of laconicum, this group was designed with M as the entrance or dressing-room and L the laconicum. This grouping is mere suggestion; there is insufficient masonry above the floor-line to afford any definite proof.

Beyond this point are indications on every side of yet more buildings. The bathing establishment may have extended east and west, but on the north and south was bounded by open courts or streets.

To the south of the Circular Bath is a large forecourt paved with stones and to the east of the forecourt a parallel area once divided by a lobby or passage midway in its length. To the north the floor-level was that of the adjoining area, but to the south it is 2 ft. 6 in. lower. The side walls are cemented. The drain which empties the Circular Bath enters this area at the north-west angle.

The long wall to the south of the Great Bath, but not quite parallel to it, was a dwarf one, with a massive flat coping on which, at the points indicated, are the base mouldings of circular columns, presumably an open screen or the exterior wall of a covered way or shelter.

Immediately to the north of the Circular Bath are the hot mineral springs encircled by a strong wall roughly oval or octagonal on plan, afterwards enclosed within rectangular walls, apparently conforming with the lay-out of the supposed

temple and other structures in the vicinity. The water-level has been artificially raised for modern use. On the east side of the outer enclosing wall is an arched opening with a broad stone sill, and near by the overflow water discharges into the great culvert. On the north side the outer wall is of excellent stonework, with a rebated door opening in the centre, and flanked at either end with masonry in the shape of huge pedestals; parallel with the wall is a deep channel stone, and at the entrance door two steps covering the drain at this point.[1]

Opposite the entrance, about 10 feet distant, are two stone blocks that suggest a portico or a colonnade, but this is scarcely borne out on critical examination; the blocks are without base mouldings and of unusual shape for piers or pilasters. On the sill or floor stone by the side of one of the blocks is a socket-hole for a gate or railing standard.

It is not easy to make a careful survey of these features, visible only in the cramped space between the old and new floors, which is always charged with dense vapour rising from the springs. The pavement hereabouts is 16 in. in thickness and over 5 feet above the level of the Great Bath. It extends eastwards to a considerable area.

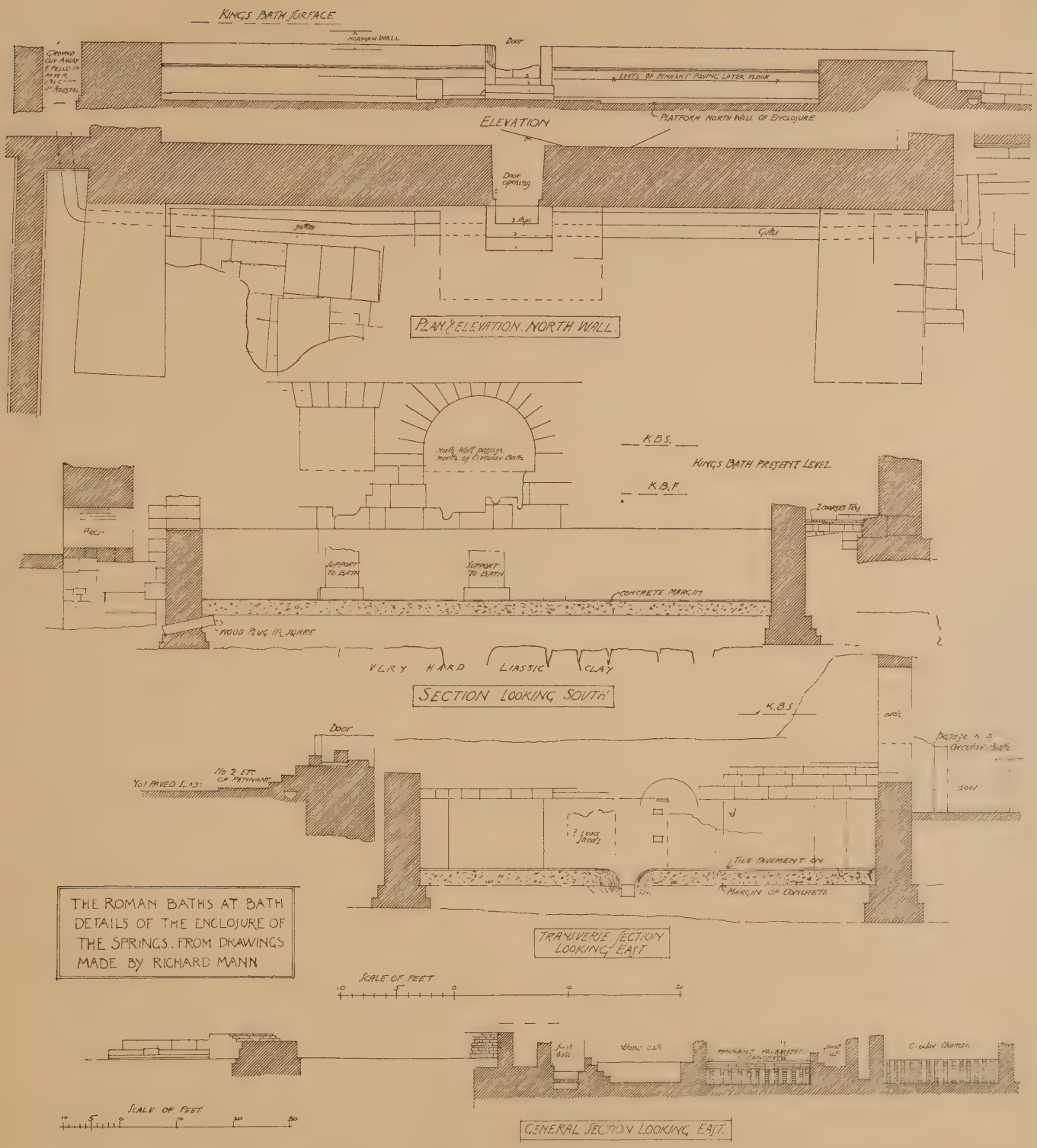
A buttressed retaining wall, to the north of and parallel with the Great Bath, sufficed to support the earthwork and massive pavement at the higher level. Surmounting this wall on its outer edge was a low parapet with square coping, on which rest the bases of circular columns. At the west end of the parapet wall another proceeded northwards, where was a covered way between it and the wall immediately to the east of the springs. The gutter-stones to receive the roof water of the covered way pass across an indefinite square area, R on plan (pl. 1), with broken pavement.

The whole of the northern area was apparently occupied by buildings of importance arranged about open spaces.

The cursory view in which we have indulged has enabled us to introduce a few new facts, eliminate others, and simplify the plan, which at the outset was skilfully designed, and afforded easy and direct communication between the parts (plan, pl. 1).

Unmistakably, the Great Bath was the common meeting-ground, the assembly place, or promenade. The grand entrance to it was the long vestibule approached from the ample forecourt to the south of the Circular Bath. The position is convenient and appropriate, and, but for the misleading title of 'latrines' on recent plans, would have been readily recognized as such; for except at the point suggested as the grand entrance, the Great Bath is not itself accessible without passing through the surrounding groups, an inconvenient and unthinkable arrangement.

[1] See Appendix and pl. III.



THE ROMAN BATHS AT BATH
DETAILS OF THE ENCLOSURE OF
THE SPRINGS. FROM DRAWINGS
MADE BY RICHARD MANN

THE ROMAN BATHS AT BATH: DETAILS OF THE ENCLOSURE OF THE SPRINGS, FROM DRAWINGS BY R. MANN

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

The north and south ambulatories of the Great Bath give naturally on to the East or Lucas Bath at the one end, and at the other to the Circular Bath about which again are grouped a series of small apartments, approached during the various developments from chambers L or M.

The corridor north of the Circular Bath may also have been used as an approach from the town on the north-west of the springs enclosure, where temples and other buildings were located; the only pilaster adorned with flutings occurs in this corridor. The difference in level could be easily overcome by steps or a sloping way.

I incline to the belief that the site of the latrines was the southern portion of the area to the east of the forecourt; its floor is 2 ft. 6 in. below the adjoining room and could be flushed by the discharge drain from the Circular Bath.

APPENDIX

Explanation of pl. III

Mr. Richard Mann, in the years 1875 onwards, made a number of drawings of Bath, now in the possession of the Society. Among them are sections of the 'springs' enclosure (see pl. III).

The work shown on the sections is now buried below the present reservoir. As the details have not heretofore been published, copies of the sections pertaining to the enclosure are now presented on pl. III, together with the extracts below from Mr. Mann's description.

'Whilst the reservoir was building, the water seems to have been provided with an outflow at the bottom of its eastern wall. This aperture, a Roman foot square, was blocked up by an oak plug (see sections looking south and east). Excepting at this aperture, a margin of concrete, faced on its upper surface with tiles, was laid against the interior foot of the wall, which was built of block stone 3 ft. wide (see pl. II). Sheets of lead, varying in thickness from $\frac{5}{8}$ in. to 1 in., were footed into the concrete, laid upright against the face of the wall, turned in at the level shown in section (looking east) and several more courses of block stone fixed upon it. In very early times the upper part of this lead had been hacked off to the line shown in section. The removal of this remaining portion is explained by Major Davis in the first edition of the *Guide* thus: "Between 20 and 30 tons of this lead he removed as the sale 'furnished sinews' for the excavators." . . . Remains of stone pitching in the reservoir court were also found and still remain (plan and elevation, north wall). Portions of two square piers, probably Roman work, were found in position near the south wall of the reservoir. . . . Near the doorway (section looking south) [was] a portion of a later floor of the Forum, laid at a level 20 in. higher than the original floor. It is formed of thin pennant slabs. All were badly fractured (section looking east).'

Discussion

Mr. Bushe-Fox was glad to find that Mr. Knowles's removal from the North had not diminished his enthusiasm; and a description of the finest architectural remains of Roman Britain was very welcome. He distinguished between domestic baths in small buildings, military baths outside the forts, and larger establishments as at Wroxeter and Silchester for public amusement and intercourse, of which the baths of Diocletian at Rome were an

outstanding example. These at Bath had less than usual in common with the Turkish system, and comprised a large number of basins, which were not complete till the east wing was added. Something was known of their date as a great number of coins came from the large reservoir, the sacred spring of Minerva, and ranged from Vespasian to the end of the Roman occupation. The building was probably begun at the end of the 1st century. Bath covered only 20 or 30 acres within the walls, but drew a large number of visitors especially of the military class, every legion but the 9th being represented on the tombstones. Solinus in the 3rd century referred to the warm baths of Britain, which were ruled over by Minerva.

Mr. Reginald Smith recalled the mention of three periods in the paper, and asked whether any improvement or deterioration in the masonry was noticeable as additions were made to the first-century block. On many Roman sites buildings had been dated by the style of construction, the key being given by structures altered at successive dates. It was satisfactory to know that the finest Roman architecture in the country was under the protection of the Office of Works, and that any excavations on the site were carried out under expert supervision ; as private and municipal enterprise had had disastrous results in some other cases. He remembered seeing an interesting group of antiquities in the Pump Room museum, and hoped that a much older museum in the town would one day emerge from its eclipse.

Mr. Wilmer dwelt on the connexion between baths and soap, and referred to Sir Flinders Petrie's theory that the Red-hills of Essex were prehistoric alkali works for soap-making (*Proceedings*, xxiii, 88). Inquiries at Pompeii had elicited the information that the bathers used not soap but fuller's earth.

Mr. Caröe was interested in the Roman method of producing lead-piping. In the last few years research had proved that they fused the lead along the top of a clean straight joint, and there was some extraordinarily neat work at Timgad and Pompeii. The modern lead-turner left marks of fusing along the joint, but how the Romans obtained the necessary heat was a mystery ; and he inquired whether Mr. Knowles could throw any light on the method after his work at the baths.

The Chairman (Mr. Garraway Rice) said his acquaintance with Bath was confined to a week's visit with the Royal Archaeological Institute, but he had followed the paper with interest and profit, and returned the thanks of the meeting not only to the author but also to the Directors of the Springs who had kindly lent, to illustrate the paper, the large model of the baths till recently exhibited at Wembley.

Mr. Knowles replied that evidence of date was given by a coin of Hadrian, found adhering to the underside of one of the added bases of a pilaster. The earliest work was undoubtedly the best on the site, the latest being thicker and clumsier, and that of the interval being of mixed character. A quantity of fuller's earth was found on the floor of the swimming-bath, which it had been suggested was placed there for waterproofing purposes. The lead squares measured 10 ft. by 5 ft. and the joints were butted and fused : the large pipe from the springs to the bath was overlapped.

II.—*Some Letters of Confraternity. By the Rev. Prebendary* Clark-Maxwell, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 12th February 1925

I

The origin of letters of 'confraternity', or of 'participation in benefits', for the two classes seem to be, as I hope to show later on, practically equivalent, is to be sought in the natural desire among those who were fighting against the corruptions of the world, to feel themselves fortified with the prayers of others engaged in the like conflict, and the no less natural wish to help their brethren in that struggle. Such associations would, equally naturally, be formed first and principally between monastic houses, since these formed, as it were, the entrenched camps into which religion retreated during the dark ages of Europe. But inasmuch as those thus associated were reckoned as in the fullest sense brothers, it was not long before the practical usefulness of these acts of confraternity became apparent in providing a means of arbitration in case of disputes between head and members in an abbey, as well as a sort of appeal against unjust treatment by a superior, or a remedy for fundamental incompatibility of temperament. Dom Ursmer Berlière, O.S.B., in an interesting article in the *Mémoires* of the Royal Belgian Academy,[1] has investigated the jurisdictional side of these monastic confraternities, and therein relates the surprising experience of an abbot of St. Trond, who on approaching in the course of a journey the abbey of Brogne or St. Gérard, finds himself received with all ceremony, conducted at High Mass to the abbot's stall, and is informed that the officers of the monastery had to surrender to him their keys of office, and that he had the right to remit the punishment imposed upon a brother of the house. He asks the reason; and the only explanation his hosts can give, is that this is always done to an abbot of St. Trond on his first visit to Brogne. The author explains these proceedings by supposing the former existence of a formal act of confraternity between the houses, entirely forgotten on one side, and only partially remembered on the other.

Such instruments of confraternity, though not always so far-reaching in their scope, were not unusual between monasteries, both in this country and

[1] *Acad. Royale de Belgique, Mémoires*, 2 ser. xi, iii, 1920. I have also had the opportunity of seeing an article by the same learned author on 'Les confraternités monastiques au Moyen-Âge' from the *Revue Liturgique et Monastique*, xi (1926), pp. 134–42.

elsewhere; and it is worth while to remark that monasteries so federated were by no means always of the same order; while both here and abroad confraternities occur between monasteries and chapters of secular clerks. Instances of monastic confraternity, which may be described as 'jurisdictional' and involving some measure of mutual control, are found between, e.g., Westminster and Bury St. Edmunds, Worcester and Ramsey:

(Widmore, *Hist. of Westminster Abbey* (1751). Appendix Additl. Instruments, p. 232, no. 1.)

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Hugo et Willelmus[1] divina permissione Sci Eadmundi et Sci Petri de Westmonasterio abbates et eorundem locorum conventus salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quum ex mutuo fraterne confederationis vinculo crescit caritas et roborantur ecclesie, ex communi consilio placuit et assensu nos et ecclesias nostras invicem vinciri foedere perpetuo, eoque libentius et justius, quo sancti reges patroni nostri specialius se dilexerunt, eosque constat veraciter fuisse consanguineos. Ut ergo alternatim ad auxilium in necessitate concurramus et consilium, et mutua defensione indempnitati nostre prospiciamus, facta est inter nos talis conventio, videlicet quod communia sint nostra capitula, unus idemque per omnia sit conventus omni diversitate tam corporali quam spirituali seposita. Altero autem abbatum sublato de medio abbas superstes, si vocatus fuerit, ad alterum accedat monasterium in cujus presentia novitii professionem suam faciant, munus benedictionis ab eodem recepturi. Si quis vero ex uno conventu ad alium venerit, vel ad convianendum[2] directus fuerit, domestico suscipiatur affectu, et omnis ei humanitas exhibeatur, donec ordinate recesserit, vel ecclesie sue consignetur ad pacem, quod tamen ei non competit, quem arguit horribile flagitium. Et si abbas alterius ecclesie decesserit, audito obitu suo, velut pro proprio abbate fiat servitium, si vero monachus, pro quolibet plenum triennarium hinc inde persolvatur; et nomina hinc inde decedentium singulis annis die anniversariorum suorum in martirilogio conscribantur. Solempnitates etiam sanctorum patronorum nostrorum hinc inde cum quatuor cantoribus in cappis singulis festivitatibus suis solempniter celebrentur. Ut igitur hec nostra statuta firma sint in perpetuum, cartas nostras sigillis nostris roboratas confecimus.

MS. Bodl. 543.

Hec est conuentio inter Episcopum W. priorem T. et fratres de Wirecestria et inter abbatem Alwynum et fratres de Ramesey quatenus utrumque monasterium in omnibus commune sit et unum in gracia videlicet beati presulis Oswaldi qui Ramesense monasterium primitus construendo et dedicando et wygornense presidendo utrumque in domino complectitur et hoc placet vt pro vnoquoque defuncto fratre utriusque congregacionis xxv dies pleniter agantur et prebenda fratris per xxx dies in elemosinam detur. Pro episcopo vero et priore Wygornensi et pro Abbate Ramesensi per integrum Annum sua prebenda ad elemosinam de [*erased*] mittatur. Et in omnibus habeant fratres [alterutrum

[1] Wm. Humez, abbot of Westminster, 1214–22.

[2] So in printed copy; *qu.* 'commanendum'.

interlined] hinc et inde suum locum et in qualibet necessitate suum refugium. See also Reg. 1. dec. et cap. Wigorn. f. 11 a.

On the other hand, the fraternity betwēen Hyde and St. Albans may be styled purely complimentary, each being admitted to a place in the commemorations of the other, but no question of jurisdiction being involved.

Liber Vitae of Hyde: W. de Gray Birch, *New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, 1892, p. 37.

[H]ec est conventio inter nos et Monachos Sancti Albani. Quotiens aliquis eorum ex hac luce migraverit, eiusque obitus nobis denunciatus fuerit, vii officia in conventu pro eo celebrabuntur, et unusquisque sacerdotum missas privatim cantabit. Ceteri vero psalterium integrum iuxta consuetudinem persoluent [12th cent.].

See also Dr. Birch's note on pp. 47 ff. for notice of a spiritual confraternity between the abbots of Newminster and certain bishops and abbots not specified, in Cotton MS. Titus D. xxvi, f. 17 b; also of a similar compact between Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, 1062–95, and the houses of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, Gloucester, and Worcester; the Austin Canons of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, and Malmesbury; St. Swithun's, Winchester and fifteen monasteries, all but one in England, on the following terms:

Lecto brevi in capitulo pro defuncto fratre, statim absolvitur, signa pulsantur, et ipsa die si vacans est, vel ea certe que primum opportuna occurrerit, fit unum solemne officium vigiliarum et misse in conventu. Singuli sacerdotum unam missam, ceteri vero L psalmos dicunt, dehinc reincipientes et commune trigintale et privatum et pro eo ceteris fratribus defunctis, tam suis quam nostris.

There is also an agreement of a less intimate character between St. Swithun's and thirteen French monasteries, as well as other places. Evesham had fraternity with St. Mary's, York, and with Whitby; and mention is made of other similar agreements.

Peterborough had fraternity with Ramsey (Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, clii, p. 82), with obligation of the maintenance of a mutual brief: Cirencester with Bruerne (*ib.* dxxiii, p. 301); Coventry with Daventry (B.M. Cotton, Claudius D. xii, f. 115, dated 1232); St. Mary's, York, has a list of fifty houses, nine of them in France, 'qui . . . societatem nostram acceperunt, et eodem tenore suam nobis tradiderunt'.

In the *Liber Vitae* of Durham (Surtees Soc., vol. 136, 1923) occur on f. 48 the agreements between Durham and Westminster, Fécamp, St. Stephen's, Caen, St. Peter's, Gloucester, the cathedral priory at Winchester, Christ Church, Canterbury, Glastonbury, Selby, Lastingham, and Hackness; and on f. 33*d* agreements with individual monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and

St. Mary's, York; with the monks of Saint Calais, Chertsey, York, and Pershore (see further the Introduction, pp. xviii, xix).

It seems also to have been not unusual on the occasion of an exchange of property, or the settlement of some outstanding question between two religious bodies, to ratify the transaction by a mutual admission to confraternity. Such a case is found in the records of the Chapter of Hereford when the abbey of Lyre and the cathedral church form a mutual 'confederacio fraternitatis' (Capes, *Records and Charters of Hereford Cathedral*, p. 122):

> Preterea ad confederacionem fraternitatis habite et habende inter ecclesiam Herefordensem et monasterium Lirense; si contigerit abbatem de Lira vel aliquem fratrem ejusdem loci diem ultimum claudere et nobis nunciatum fuerit, nomina defunctorum in nostro ponentur martyrologio, ut in anniversariis diebus suis servicium defunctorum pro eis sicut pro canonicis nostris fiat, et si episcopum vel canonicum Herefordensis ecclesie decedere contigerit, fiat pro eis in monasterio Lirensi in missis, oracionibus, et aliis suffragiis, sicut pro abbate vel monacho Lirensi defuncto.

Here it is to be noted that though the arrangement is called 'confederacio fraternitatis' it covers no more than is customarily conveyed by 'admission to the benefit of the order' though in this instance the benefit is mutual.

Hereford also entered into similar relations with Cormeilles (see A. T. Bannister, *Woolhope Club Transactions*, 1914–17, pp. 268 ff.). In 1195, D., abbot of Cormeilles, granted fraternity to the canons of Hereford that, alive and when dead, they should share the same benefits as the monks of Cormeilles; assigning also to the canons 'our church of Maurthyn' (Marden): 'ut defectus panis quotidiani et cervisie qui in communia Herefordensi hactenus extitisse dinoscitur ex omnibus predicte ecclesie de Maurthyn proventibus pro eorum quantitate suppleatur'. Dated 1195. Witnesses, Robert Folet, Reginald Folyot. This is taken from MS. Harl. 6203, described as being a partial transcript of a Cartulary of Hereford. The same manuscript gives (p. 275 of the article quoted above) an undated concession by J., prior of Malvern Major, of spiritual fraternity to the canons of Hereford, viz. that when one of them goes the way of all flesh 'denunciato nobis ejus obitu, statim beneficia specialia in ecclesia nostra fient pro eo, tanquam pro monacho nostro defuncto'.

A similar agreement of a much later date is to be found in Sir W. St. John Hope's *History of the London Charterhouse*, pp. 135, 139, where the prior and brethren of the Charterhouse admit the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John Clerkenwell to confraternity in their prayers, 15th August 1430, in consideration of being allowed to bring the pipes of their water-supply through the Hospitallers' ground; and receive the like benefit of confraternity in return.

To the same category is also, I think, to be referred the very early and

interesting compact between the Convent of the Church of St. Martin-le-Grand and the Saddlers' Gild of London, preserved among the Westminster Abbey muniments, no. 13184. I owe the knowledge of this to the kindness of the late Rev. H. F. Westlake, who supplied me with the following abstract:

Certificate of an older agreement between the Convent of the Church of St. Martin [-le-Grand] London and N. the Alderman, N. the Chaplain, and the four 'schivins' (Echevins) and all the Seniors of the Gild of Saddlers, their friends and *confratres*, by which the said Gild was admitted as partaking in all the (spiritual) benefits of the Church of St. Martin by night and day, in masses, psalms, prayers, and vigils. Promise of two masses weekly, one for the living and one for the dead, with ringing of bells and procession. It was ordained of old and recorded in Chapter that the Gild attend the church on St. Martin's Feast. [Undated, *c.* 1160].

The London Cnihtengild was admitted to fraternity in Aldgate priory in 1125.[1]

A class of documents, which, though not strictly to be called Letters of Fraternity, is yet closely connected therewith, comprises grants made by individuals to a religious house on condition of being admitted to confraternity therewith, or in consequence of such admission. Examples of such grants are the following:

Historical Manuscripts Commission: *Report on Lord Middleton's MSS.*, 1911, p. 1. Grant by Ansketin de Ridale and his wife Acilia to the nuns of Watton, co. York, of land in Birdsall, co. York, *c.* 1150, in which the following clause occurs:

Et iste sanctimoniales susceperunt me et hanc sponsam meam Aciliam et patrem ejus Willelmum de Steinesgrife et matrem ejus Matildam in perpetuam fraternitatem et plenariam participationem orationum et beneficiorum totius ordinis sui.

Other similar grants to Gilbertine houses are mentioned in Miss R. Graham's *St. Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 113 (Bodl. MS., Laud 642, f. 20v.). Humphrey de Alvingham grants to Alvingham with his body, and that of Avice his wife, a 'foreria' of land and goes on

Idem vero conventus recepit me et Aviciam uxorem meam in spiritualem fraternitatem suam, et cum diem clauserimus extremum, nos in sepultura sua caritat' recipiet faciendo pro nobis plenarium servicium, sicut pro fratre vel pro sorore domus sue.

See also p. 116, a similar grant to Haverhulme.[2]

In the British Museum there are preserved two interesting charters of about 1172, of a similar character, which as they have not, I believe, been printed, I here transcribe (pl. IV):

[1] Round, *Commune of London*, p. 102 f.

[2] B.M. MS. Lansd. 207 a, f. 120.

B.M. Egerton Ch. 433.

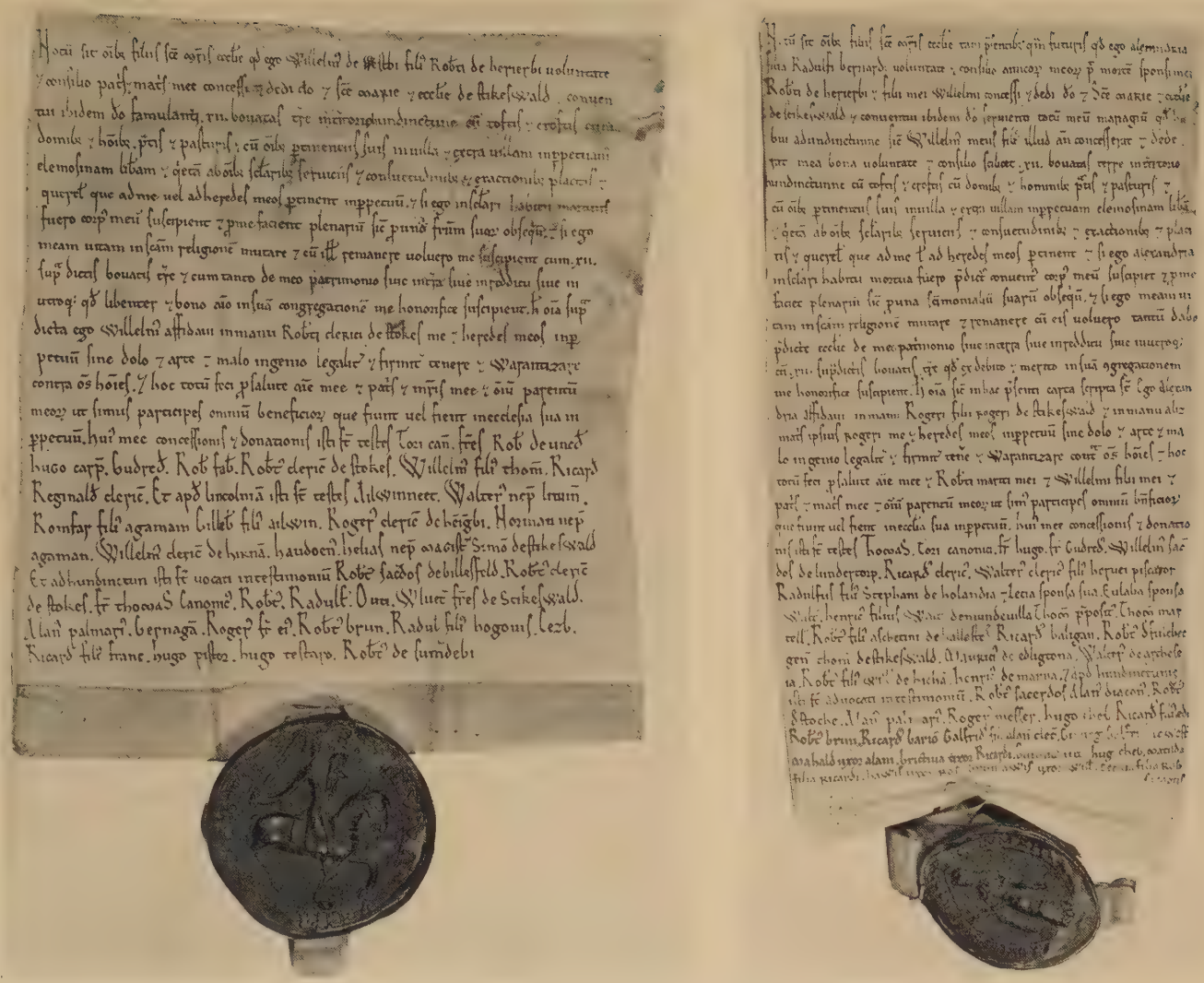
Notum sit omnibus filiis sancte matris ecclesie quod ego Willelmus de Westbi filius Roberti de Herierbi voluntate et consilio patris et matris mee concessi et dedi deo sancte Marie et ecclesie de Stikeswald et conventui ibidem deo famulanti .xij. bovatas terre in territorio hundinctune cum toftis et croftis cum domibus et hominibus, pratis et pasturis et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in villa et extra villam in perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omnibus secularibus serviciis et consuetudinibus et exactionibus placitis et querelis que ad me vel ad heredes meos pertinent in perpetuum et si ego in seculari habitu mortuus fuero corpus meum suscipient et pro me facient plenarium sicut pro uno fratrum suorum obsequium. et si ego meam vitam in sanctam religionem mutare et cum illis remanere voluero me suscipient cum .xij. supradictis bovatis terre et cum tanto de meo patrimonio sive in terra sive in redditu sive in utroque quod libenter et bono animo in suam congregationem me honorifice suscipient. hec omnia supradicta ego Willelmus affidaui in manu Roberti clerici de stokes me et heredes meos in perpetuum sine dolo et arte et malo ingenio legaliter et firmiter tenere et warantizare contra omnes homines. et hoc totum feci pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et omnium parentum meorum ut simus participes omnium beneficiorum que fiunt vel fient in ecclesia sua in perpetuum. huius mee concessionis et donationis isti sunt testes Tori canonicus fratresRobertus de uned' hugo carp̄. Gudređ'. Robertus faber. Robertus clericus de Stokes. Willelmus filius Thome Ricardus Reginaldus clerici. Et apud Lincolniam isti sunt testes Ailwinneet. Walterus nepos lituin. Romfar filius Agamani. Gillebertus filius Ailwin. Rogerus clericus de hemingbi. Norman nepos agaman. Willelmus clericus de hirnam. Haudoenus. Helias nepos magistri Simonis de stikeswald. Et ad hundinctun isti sunt vocati in testimonium Robertus sacerdos de Villesfeld. Robertus clericus de Stokes. frater Thomas Canonicus. Robertus. Radulfus. Outi. Wlvetus fratres de Stikeswald. Alanus palmarius. Gernagan. Rogerus frater eius. Robertus brun. Radulfus filius hogonis. Cerb. Ricardus filius franc. hugo pistor. hugo testard. Robertus de sumerdebi.

(Seal equestrian, circular, WILLELMVS [DE WESTBI] FILIVS RODBERTI DE HERRIERBI.)

Soon after the issue of the above charter, it would seem that both the grantor, William de Westbi, and his father Robert de Herierbi, died; whereupon his mother, Alexandria, daughter of Ralph Bernard, confirmed her son's gift of the twelve bovates of land, which would appear to have constituted her 'mariagium' in Hundington or Honington (co. Linc.) in the following terms:

B.M. Egerton Ch. 434.

Notum sit omnibus filiis sancte matris ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego alexandria filia Radulfi bernardi voluntate et consilio amicorum meorum post mortem sponsi mei Roberti de herierbi et filii mei Willelmi concessi et dedi deo et sancte MARIE et ecclesie de Stikeswald et conventui ibidem deo servienti totum meum mariagium quod habui ad undinctunne sicut Willelmus meus filius illud ante concesserat et dederat mea bona voluntate et consilio scilicet .xii. bouatas terre in territorio hundinctunne cum toftis



Grants by (1) William de Westbi, (2) Alexandria Bernard to Stixwold Nunnery

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

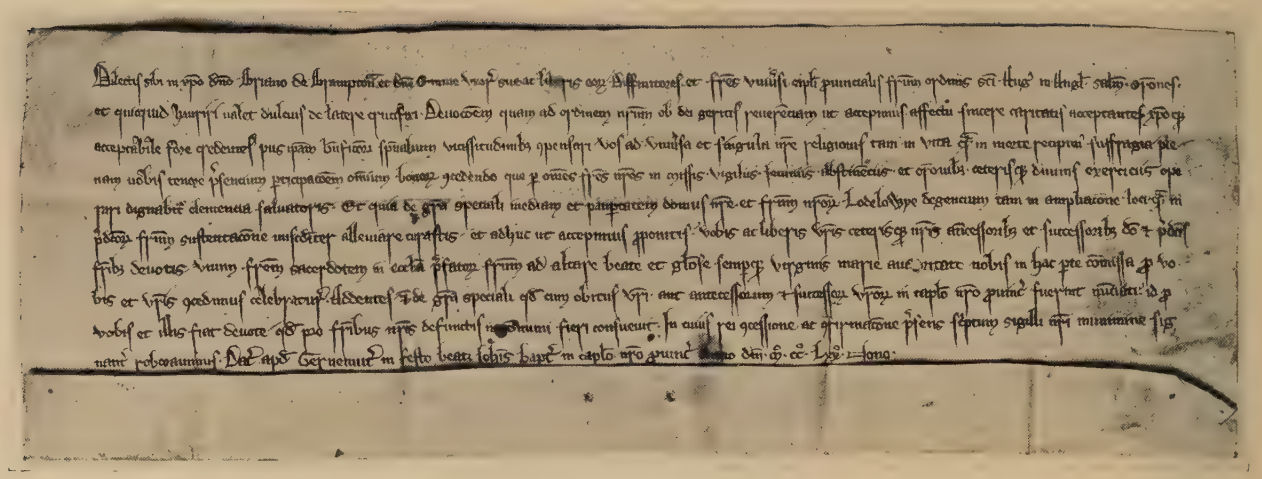


Fig. 1. Provincial Chapter of Austin Friars to Brian de Brompton, 1279 ($\frac{2}{3}$)

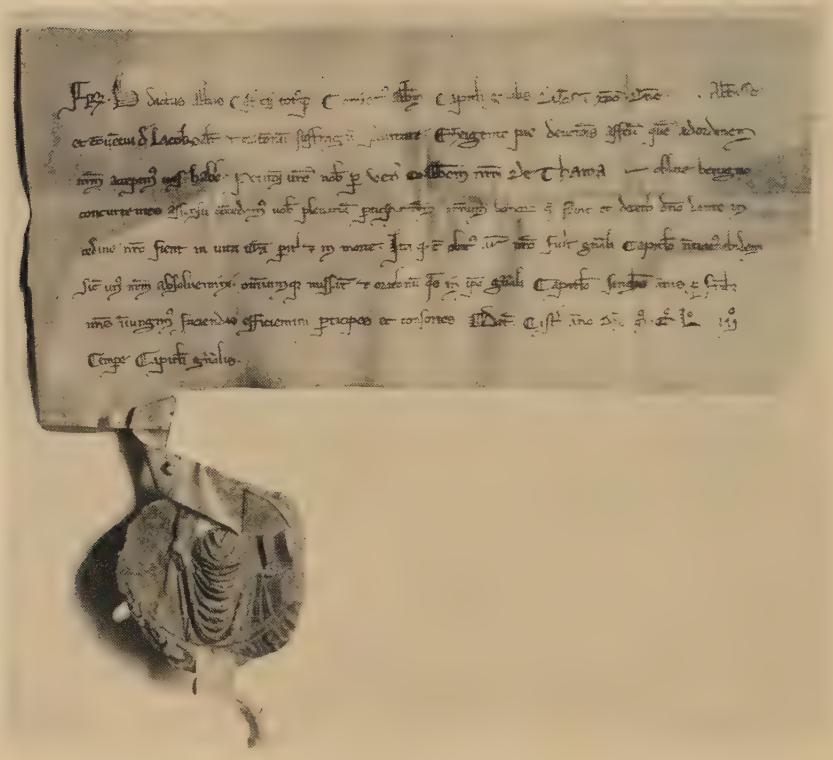


Fig. 3. Cistercian Chapter-general to Abbess and Convent of Lacock ($\frac{3}{4}$)

Fig. 2. Austin Friars: Seal of the Diffinitores ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Fig. 4. Seal of the Abbot of Cîteaux ($\frac{1}{1}$)

et croftis cum domibus et hominibus pratis et pasturis et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in uilla et extra uillam in perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omnibus secularibus serviciis et consuetudinibus et exactionibus et placitis et querelis que ad me vel ad heredes meos pertinent et si ego alexandria in seculari habitu mortua fuero predictus conuentus corpus meum suscipiet et pro me faciet plenarium sicut pro una sanctimonialium suarum obsequium et si ego meam uitam in sanctam religionem mutare et remanere cum eis voluero tantum dabo predicte ecclesie de meo patrimonio siue in terra siue in redditu siue in utroque cum .xii. supradictis bouatis terre quod ex debito et merito in suam congregationem me honorifice suscipient. Hec omnia sicut in hac presenti carta scripta sunt Ego Alexandria affidaui in manu Rogeri filii Rogeri de stikeswald et in manu aliz matris ipsius Rogeri me et heredes meos imperpetuum sine dolo et arte et malo ingenio legaliter et firmiter tenere et warantizare contra omnes homines et hoc totum feci pro salute anime mee et Roberti mariti mei et Willelmi filii mei et patris et matris mee et omnium parentum meorum ut simus participes omnium beneficiorum que fiunt vel fient in ecclesia sua imperpetuum. huius mee concessionis et donationis isti sunt testes Thomas. Tori canonici. frater hugo. frater Gudredus. Willelmus sacerdos de lundertorp. Ricardus clericus. Walterus clericus filius heruei piscatoris. Radulfus filius Stephani de holandia et letia sponsa sua. Eulalia sponsa Walteri. henricus filius. Walterus demundevilla. Thomas prepositus. Thomas martellus. Robertus filius aschetini de hallested. Ricardus baligan. Robertus de fulebec gener thome de Stikeswald. Mauricius de edligtona. Walterus de archeseta. Robertus filius Willelmi de hicham. Henricus de marna. et apud hundingtunne isti sunt aduocati in testimonium. Robertus sacerdos. Alanus diaconus. Robertus de Stoche. Alanus palmarius. Rogerus messer. hugo cheb. Ricardus filius edi. Robertus brun. Ricardus barron. Galfridus filius Alani clerici. Girneg[an]. Galfridus le West. Mahald uxor Alani. brictina uxor Ricardi. Gunnild uxor hugonis Cheb. matilda filia Ricardi. hawis uxor Roberti brun. awis uxor Willelmi. Cecilia filia Roberti sacerdotis.

(Seal oval, figure standing, long sleeves, SIGILLVM ALEXANDRIE FIL. RADVLPHI BERNARDI.)

It will be noticed that if William de Westbi died 'in seculari habitu' he is to be buried at Stixwold, and that done for him which is done for one of the brethren of the house: in the like event, his mother Alexandria is to be treated as one of the *sanctimoniales*. For further information as to the double constitution of some of the Cistercian houses at this period, reference may be made to Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson's article on 'Double Monasteries and the Male Element in Nunneries' in Appendix VIII to *The Archbishops' Report on the Ministry of Women* (S.P.C.K.).

We next have three closely allied documents which concern the Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley:

Madox, *Formulare Anglic.* ccclxv, p. 220. A final concord, dated 1221, whereby Richard fitz Richard Pauncefot releases to the abbey four acres

in Bentley, and other lands, and in return is admitted to fraternity with the Cistercian order.

Madox, ccccxi, p. 245. A gift (undated) of part of a wood, lands, and common of pasture, by Richard, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to the monks of Bordesley in free alms. For this the abbot admits the donor to fraternity with the order.

Madox, ccccxxxi, p. 254. A gift (undated) in frankalmoign by Robert Roant of Langelee to the abbey of Bordesley, of land and common of pasture for twelve sheep; together with the body of the donor, who is admitted to fraternity with their order.

The records of the dean and chapter of Lichfield furnish us with two more instances of fraternity thus conveyed by fine:

A final concord of 1260, between the king and the dean and chapter of Lichfield concerning the advowson of the church of Arley de Port. The king quitclaims the advowson to the chapter, and they in return enrol the king and his heirs as beneficiaries of their prayers (Decanus et Capitulum receperunt predictum Dominum Regem et heredes suos in singulis benefactis et oracionibus que de cetero fient in Capitulo suo imperpetuum. Lichfield, Magnum Registrum Album, f. 170).

Another final concord of 1278, between Nicholas, abbot of Halesowen, and the bishop and the dean and chapter of Lichfield concerning the advowson of the church of Horburn. The abbot quitclaimed it, and the bishop and dean received him and his successors as beneficiaries of their prayers (et iidem Episcopus et Decanus receperunt predictum Abbatem et successores suos in singulis benefactis et oracionibus que de cetero fient in ecclesia sua Lichf' imperpetuum. *Ib.*, f. 179).

My best thanks are due to the Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield, for bringing to my knowledge the last two examples, as well as those from Bordesley.

II

The monastic confraternity is one development of the idea of community in prayer and interests: it took another direction, when one of the parties was a lay person, or was placed on the footing of such. In this case it was again natural that the religious should pray for the good estate of their benefactors while living, and for the repose of their souls after death, admitting them to

a share in whatever good the house might achieve by prayers and the like; while these benefactors, for their part, undertook to stand good friends to the house in their life and to their power. From this stage it is but a short step to transactions whereby a benefactor *paid* to be admitted to confraternity, such as those quoted in H. C. Lea's work on Indulgences (iii, p. 17) where in 1050 Argyrus, duke of Italy for the Byzantine Empire, paid to the monastery of Farfa 3,000 bezants for a confraternity with it, and at his death sent it 6,000 more, with a gold embroidered mantle valued at 100*l.* of silver; or where in 1154 a certain Count Hildebrand released to the abbey of St. Saviour his claims over some disputed lands, in consideration of the monks granting him participation in their good works.

Ducange gives under the heading of 'Confraternitas' an instrument of 1205, whereby the prior and convent of Cluny receive the countess of Champagne as a sister of the Order (vos in sororem Cluniacensis ordinis recepimus facientes participem et consortem omnium beneficiorum que de cetero fient in ecclesia Cluniacensi) on account of her affection towards it, granting her the same privilege in the way of masses, etc., after her death, as if she had actually died in a convent of the Order; and asking her support and favour, while she lives, for the church of Cluny and all its members.

In the *Liber Vitae* of Durham (Surtees Soc., vol. 136) there is a grant to Malcolm, king of Scots, his queen, Margaret, and their children, of full participation in the good works of the convent; and commemoration after their death with thirty full offices of the dead, and celebration of their anniversary in the same way as that of King Athelstan (f. 48*d*; see Introd., p. 19).

I turn now to those instances which come more strictly under the definition of 'letters of fraternity'. Mr. C. L. Kingsford, F.S.A., has communicated to me a grant of 1183–4, preserved among Lord De L'Isle's MSS., whereby the abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux grant 'participation' to Henry, count of Eu, for his affection to the abbey of Robertsbridge, and particularly for the gift to the brethren of the prebend of Hastings (C. L. Kingsford, *MSS. of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley*, i, pp. 40, 41). The operative words are: 'Concedimus vobis tam in vita quam in morte omnium beneficiorum et orationum que in ordine nostro fiunt et fient participationem'. The soul of his mother, the foundress of Robertsbridge, is also received 'in participium omnium bonorum que per ordinem in eternum fient'.

The next in order of date is the document (pl. v, fig. 3), wherein the abbot of Cîteaux and the general chapter of the Cistercian Order, in 1253, grant participation in benefits to the abbess and convent of Lacock, for their affection to the Order, as reported by the abbot of Thame. The document runs as follows:

(Original among Records at Lacock Abbey, Wilts.)

Frater B.[1] dictus Abbas Cistercii totusque Conventus abbatum Capituli generalis Dilectis in Christo Domine . . . Abbatisse et conventui de Lacok salutem et oracionum suffragium salutare. Exigente pie devocionis affectu quam ad ordinem nostrum accepimus vos habere peticioni vestre nobis per venerabilem coabbatem nostrum de Thama oblate benigno concurrentes assensu concedimus vobis plenariam participacionem omnium bonorum que fiunt et de cetero domino dante in ordine nostro fient in vita vestra pariter et in morte. Ita quod cum obitus vester nostro fuerit generali capitulo nunciatus ibidem sicut unus nostrum absolvemini. omniumque missarum et oracionum quas in ipso generali capitulo singulis annis pro fratribus nostris iniungimus faciendas efficiemini participes et consortes. Dat' Cistercii anno Domini m°. cc°. l°. iij°. Tempore Capituli generalis.

Seal of the abbot of Cîteaux. As the specimen attached to this document is somewhat chipped, I give an illustration of a more perfect example from a charter in the British Museum, Harl. 75. A. 6 (pl. v, fig. 4).

The grant, it will be observed, is in quite general terms and refers to no special benefaction to the Order, or to any house thereof; a blank, never filled in, has been left for the initial of the abbess; and the fact that the words 'Lacok' and 'Thama' have been inserted in a different ink shows that the form must have been prepared beforehand, and filled in at the time of issue. This, as we shall see later, was the plan commonly adopted in the very numerous letters of confraternity and participation issued by the friars and religious foundations, such as abbeys, hospitals, and gilds, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but one hardly expects to find the chapter-general of Cîteaux in 1253 hawking these documents about, whatever may have happened later; it was, we may feel sure, at that time a very real and considerable compliment to be put on the participation-list of the Cistercian Order; and it may not be amiss to inquire into any possible reason for the distinction in the case of Lacock.

In 1229 the Countess Ela of Salisbury took the first step in the foundation of Lacock Abbey, by assigning to God, St. Mary, and St. Bernard her manor of Lacock, therein to make an abbey of nuns, to be styled 'Locus Beate Marie'. This last wish of hers remained indeed unfulfilled, nor did the name of St. Bernard persist in the usual title of the house; but it shows at least the veneration which she had for the greatest of Cistercian abbots; and this veneration is easy to understand when we read the statement of her biographer that after the death of her husband, William Longespé, in 1226, she spent her widowhood 'in all things conforming herself to the directions' of Edmund of Abingdon, then treasurer of the cathedral church of Salisbury (a post which he held from 1222 to 1233), and later Archbishop of Canterbury. For Edmund himself was

[1] Boniface, abbot from 1244 to 1257.

evidently an admirer of the Cistercians, and when after his quarrel with the legate Otho in 1240 he fled oversea, it was to the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny that he went, and there he conformed to the life of the brethren, dying in the immediate neighbourhood in the same year.

But beyond this, I seem to see a distinctly Cistercian influence in the planning of the choir and eastern range of Lacock. Any one who will compare its plan with, say, that of Buildwas (which though originally Savigniac, became Cistercian in 1147 and presents a typical early Cistercian plan) will see that the aisled chapter-house has a very Cistercian aspect, while the large sacristy with its two eastern chapels is only a very slight modification of a typical Cistercian north transept. Not of course that it was actually designed as a transept, but whoever drew the ground-plan for Lacock was one who was used to drawing Cistercian plans, and very much guided by his recollection of them. Our Fellow Mr. A. W. Clapham has recently drawn attention to the influence of Cîteaux on the Premonstratensian plan, and I have for many years thought I saw something of the same sort at Lacock. The austerity of the mouldings, too, in the church and chapter-house is an indication of Cistercian influence.

The foundress entered religion, as she had probably always intended to do, at Lacock in 1238, and was elected the first abbess in 1239. She resigned her office owing to failing powers at the end of 1256, and died in 1261 at Lacock, where she was 'decentissime tumulata', so that the Cîteaux deed exhibited falls within the last years of her presidency, and one can imagine her asking in 1253 through the abbot of Thame for the coveted privilege of partnership in the Cistercian commemoration and prayers. What these privileges were will appear from the following passage in the *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, under the title of Consuetudines: Ecclesiastica Officia, cap. xcviii:

> Tempore Cisterciensis capituli, sequenti die post Exaltationem Sanctae Crucis [Sept. 15], post sermonem habitum in capitulo cum devotione stantibus omnibus ab eo qui Capitulum tenet, absolvantur defuncti nostri, ita dicente: *Animae fratrum et familiarium nostrorum hoc anno defunctorum requiescant in pace.* Et respondentes omnes *Amen*, dicant *De Profundis.* Et post flectentes genua etiam dominicis diebus dicant. *Pater noster.* Et qui praesidet dicat *Et ne nos inducas, A porta inferi, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Deus veniae largitor et humanae salutis auctor, quaesumus clementiam tuam, ut nostrae congregationis fratres et familiares qui ex hoc,* & cetera, et in fine post *Dominus vobiscum. Requiescant in pace, Amen. . . .*
>
> Cap. XCIX. Patres, matres, fratres, sorores, & consanguinei defuncti fratrum Ordinis nostri, in Cisterciensi Capitulo in conventu Abbatum, extremo die nominatim absolvi debent . . . Participes quoque fient omnium eorum quae in generali Capitulo statuuntur facienda pro fratribus. . . .[1]

[1] *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Solesmes, 1892), p. 186.

At the time of the Cistercian Chapter, on the day next after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [Sept. 15], after sermon in the chapter-house, all devoutly standing, our dead shall be absolved by him who holds the Chapter, saying thus: 'May the souls of our brethren and combrethren (*familiarium*), who have this year died, rest in peace.' And all answering 'Amen' shall say the De profundis (Ps. cxxx) and afterwards kneeling down, even if the day be a Sunday, shall say the Pater Noster. And he who presides shall say 'And lead us not.' 'From the gates of hell.' 'The Lord be with you.' 'Let us pray. O God, the giver of pardon, and author of man's salvation, we beseech Thy mercy, that the brethren and combrethren, who from this life, &c.', and in the end, after 'The Lord be with you' 'May they rest in peace. Amen.'

The fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and relations of the brethren of our Order shall after their death be absolved by name in the Cistercian Chapter in the assembly of abbots, on the last day (of the Chapter) . . . and they shall also be made partakers of those things which are appointed to be done in the General Chapter for the brethren. . . .

Such was the Cistercian practice; other Orders had different methods recorded in their compilations of *Consuetudines*. Notably the customs of Cluny, and particularly those drawn up by Bernard of Cluny, had a widespread influence; and in chapter xxvi of these we have some details given as to the admission of persons whether rich or poor to fraternity. This took place in the chapter-house, and the privileges are described of those so admitted, both in their lifetime and after their death.

Of giving our fellowship to strangers.

There are some congregations, not only of monks, but also of [secular] clerks, which have our fellowship and fraternity; so that if a letter shall come to us of their death, or our letter to them, the Office and Mass shall be used, and afterwards a septenary with offices and masses. Further there are many faithful as well poor as rich, who after being brought into our Chapter receive our fraternity, first imploring this outside the Chapter-house from the lord abbot or prior, either in person or through the guest master; which fellowship is given to them with the book (*cum libro*) and it is agreed that they shall have part and fellowship in all good things which are wrought not only with us, but also in all our houses, in prayers and almsgiving and other good works.

For all these and for all our benefactors, so long as they are in this life, there is specially sung at each hour: *Deus in adjutorium*; and the collect: *Pretende, Domine*, as often as it is said at the greater or at the lesser Mass, is assigned for them. And after their death, at the Mass and the Office of the dead, the collect: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui*, or when it does not stand in the list of collects, the first collect, is specially appointed for them, as well as the Lauds for the dead, which from Septuagesima to the Calends of November are said after [the office of] a feast of twelve lessons, and the Vespers and Lauds [of the dead] which are said on feasts during Lent, and on the Rogation-days.

Furthermore, thrice in the year, i. e. at the beginning of Lent, and after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and after the Feast of All Saints, we make special com-

memoration of them with Office and General Mass, with a septenary of Masses and Offices; and a portion for thirty days, in the same way as is customary for a brother dying outside the monastery, is given in alms; this, however, less is done for them than for a brother dying outside, that each individual priest does not sing Mass for them.[1]

My thanks are due to Dom Thomas Symons, of Downside, for much help in the elucidation of these directions.

In the Constitutions of Lanfranc for Canterbury which are a much abridged edition, with some variations, of the Customs of Bernard of Cluny, and which were gradually adopted in other English religious houses, we have a more complete picture of the reception of a stranger, whether monk, abbot, or lay person, into the confraternity of a Benedictine house:

Constitutions of Lanfranc, Cap. XX.

Concerning Confraternity.

The monk who seeks to have granted to him the fellowship and benefit of the monastery, on being brought into the chapter-house shall say 'Benedicite'; then he shall prostrate himself at the step where it is customary, and being asked what he wishes to say, shall answer with humble and devout heart in these words: 'I desire through the mercy of God, and of you, and of all these elder brethren, the fellowship and benefit of this monastery.' To which the abbot shall answer, 'May the Lord Almighty grant you what you seek and himself give to you the fellowship of his elect.' After this he shall be bidden to rise, and shall approach the abbot and from him receive the fellowship of the monastery by means of the book of the Rule. Which done, and receiving from him a kiss, he shall bow himself at the feet of the abbot, and then kiss all the brethren in turn. After this he shall return to the place where he prostrated himself, and there make three genuflexions in the accustomed manner; the brethren shall bow to him, and then at the bidding of the abbot he shall take his seat, the place being previously shown him where he is to sit.

But if it be an abbot, at his entrance into the chapter-house, the whole convent shall rise to him, and continue standing, until having prostrated himself as above he makes his request, and rising receives the fellowship with his monks, and after receiving it, takes his seat next to the abbot; but his monks after receiving the fellowship, shall return to the place where they prostrated themselves and make three genuflexions as is said above. The abbot and his monks shall kiss the brethren as they leave the chapter-house.

If it be a greater congregation, the kiss may be omitted, which is already the case in many monasteries; if it be a secular person he shall sit before the abbot, or if a person of consideration, beside him; then having declared to the brethren his request, he shall receive the fellowship by means of the Gospel-text: then he shall go round to kiss the brethren, unless it be a woman.[2]

[1] Herrgot, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica* (1726), p. 200.

[2] *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, vol. i, p. 176. For the formula of admission at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, see the Customary of that house (Henry Bradshaw Soc., vol. xxiii, p. 292 f.); for Westminster, see the same society's vol. xxviii, p. 232 f.

III

Before passing on to deal with the Letters of Fraternity issued by Friars, which form 50 per cent. of the whole number known to me, and which may therefore be looked upon as furnishing the typical 'Letter of Fraternity', I may briefly summarize what I have been able to discover of such letters issued by Monastic houses or Orders.

From the Benedictine houses of England, there are fewer surviving than one would expect. Two, issued by the abbot (William) of St. Albans in 1476 and 1491 to John Say, knight, and his family, and to Hugh Spalding, chaplain, respectively, are preserved in the Public Record Office (Exch. K. R. Eccl. Docs., 6/57, 62). William, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, grants fraternity in 1429 'honorabili viro Willelmo Paston' (B.M. MS. Add. 17226); the abbot of Abingdon the like to Jane Jode (?) in 1476 (P.R.O. Chancery Misc., bdle. 15, file 6, no. 12), and Hyde Abbey, whose *Liber Vitae* we have already referred to, admits the bishop, dean, and chapter of Salisbury to fraternity in 1260 (B.M. MS. Cott. Ch. viii. 1). *Circa* 1298 the Benedictine general chapter of the province of Canterbury grant fraternity to John Giffard, founder of Gloucester College, Oxford, for Benedictine Students at the University.[1]

In the British Museum Charter Cott. viii. 2 we have the letter of the prior and convent of Worcester, admitting Henry de Bluntesdone, the king's almoner, and Master John de Grundwell, clerk, to fraternity in 1295:

> Discretis viris domino Henrico de Blontesdone, domini nostri regis elemosinario et magistro Iohanni de Grundwell' clerico frater Philippus humilis prior Wygorn' et ejusdem loci conventus salutem et sincere dilectionis continuum incrementum vestre devotionis affectui vicissitudinem cupientes rependere gratiosam vos in fraternitatem nostram admittimus vobis in missis horis orationibus vigiliis disciplinis hospitalitatibus elemosinis et bonis aliis quibuscunque participium tenore presentium concedendo que per humilitatem nostram operari dignabitur clemencia Ihesu Christi, specialiter annuentes quod cum nobis fuerit vester obitus cum presentibus nunciatus, pro vobis fieri debeat in conventu quod pro nostris familiaribus fieri consuevit. Dat' Wygorn' die beate Marie Magdalene anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo quinto.

Considerable light is thrown on this particular transaction, and on the circumstances of the issue of fraternity letters in general, by some passages in the *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), iv, pp. 521, 530, 539, 544. It appears that when the convent of Worcester was in financial straits in 1295, Henry de Bluntesdone, 'a man then unknown to us', says the chronicler, lent them 100*l.*

[1] Printed in *Snappe's Formulary and other Records*, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford Hist. Soc., vol. lxxx (1924), p. 358.

which they covenanted to repay in two years' time, in the cathedral of Sarum, to him who should produce the bond of obligation, 'as is our custom'. In gratitude for this help, he was admitted, as above, into fraternity; and we may conjecture that Master John de Grundwell helped in furnishing the money. But when the time for repayment drew near, it proved difficult and inconvenient to accomplish: in April 1296 the convent granted to H. de Bluntesdone, apparently to stave off the repayment of the capital sum, an annual pension of five marks. This was exchanged in November 1298 for a like obligation to John Grenewelle; but in 1299 they still owed, it appears, 200*l.*; and as Bluntesdone pressed for the repayment of at any rate 50*l.*, and as the convent did not possess so much in cash, it was determined to borrow one hundred marks from Peter, chaplain of Cotestone, and to grant him the daily portion of a monk and of a servant (garcionis). This course, though not pleasing to the convent, yet appeared the lesser evil (et licet iste modis omnibus vero non placuerit, tamen tolerabilior videbatur).

A certain number of admissions to fraternity are recorded in the register books of Westminster Abbey; and in certain cases, those of Thomas Thwaytes, knight, in 1490, Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, 1512, Philip Underwood, monk of the London Charterhouse, and Richard Brooks, serjeant-at-law, in 1515, the words of the actual letter of admission are copied with more or less completeness into the register book: but when all is said, it must be admitted that the foregoing list is but a scanty one in proportion to the large number of Benedictine houses in England: though any deficiency in the comparative number of Benedictine letters of fraternity is more than made up by the list given on pp. 106 ff. of the Durham Obituary Rolls (Surtees Society, vol. 31). This contains some 190 entries, a few of which are letters granted by other houses such as Syon Nunnery, Guisburn Priory (Aug.), and the charterhouse of Mount Grace; but the great majority record the admission of other houses, or of individuals, clerical or lay, to fellowship in the prayers, etc., of the house. There is no reason to suppose that Durham was in any way exceptional among Benedictine monasteries; and it is only reasonable to believe that a similar list could be made out for every monastic establishment in England, if the evidence could be recovered. Similar testimony, for instance, is furnished by the records of St. Albans (see *V. C. H. Herts.*, iv, p. 399, and Amundesham, *Annales Monasterii S. Albani* (Rolls Series), i, 24, 65–9).[1]

Of the houses of the Cluniac reformation of the Benedictine Order I have not found a single Letter of Fraternity, with the solitary exception (and that not English) of the admission of the countess of Champagne in 1205, referred to above: yet this exception proves that the custom existed in the

[1] See also some further examples and references in the Appendix to this paper.

Cluniac, as in the other Orders, and considerable space, as we have seen, is devoted in the Customs of Cluny to the method of the admission and commemoration of those so received into fraternity.

Of the Cistercian Letters of Fraternity more have survived; besides those of the count of Eu and the abbess of Lacock, quoted above, we have similar letters issued in 1329 by William, abbot of Cîteaux,[1] and his chapter-general to Sir John Hesketh and his family (Chetham's Library, Manchester; MS. Towneley, C. 8. 13, Sect. H. 435 on p. 695), and in 1436 by the same authority to Sir Geoffrey de Staunton, his wife Joan, and Isabella, relict of Sir William de Staunton (B.M. MS. Harl. iii. B. 8). The three last mentioned, dated at intervals of about a century, are almost identical, not only in wording, but even in the order of the words; and show how stereotyped the admission formula became. Another form is found in the quite late (1450) admission of Sir John 'Pellam' and Joan his wife to membership in the confraternity of Scala Celi by the prior of the Cistercian house of St. Anastasius in Rome (B.M. Add. 29262). I subjoin the text:

Universis Christi fidelibus presentem cedulam inspecturis. Nos frater nicholaus barbaran prior monasterii sancti Anastasii cisterciensis ordinis cum consensu religiosorum notum facimus quomodo iohannes pellam miles et iohana uxor eius Sisistrensis dioceseos intra [societatem] et confraternitatem nostram que vocatur beate marie virginis de scala celi, et nos tenemus eum pro confratre et eam pro consorore et tenemur orare pro ipsis et pro parentibus eorum. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum magnum conventus nostri hic est appensum. Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo tercia die mensis Aprilis. (*Seal gone.*)

The Carthusian Order furnishes us with a limited number of examples, none of them early. In 1437 Gilillo, prior of the Grande Chartreuse, 'ceterique diffinitores capituli generalis' admit Henry de Kerspere [?] and Margaret his wife to fraternity (B.M. Add. 39025); in 1493 Anthony, prior of the Grande Chartreuse, admits Thomas Pilborough and others (Exch. K.R. Eccl. Docs. 6/63), the grant being made, as were those by the Cistercian general chapter, on the recommendation of the head of one of the subordinate houses; in the last case John Yngleby, prior of Sheen. But whereas the Cistercian grants, so far as our knowledge goes, are made by the general chapter of Cîteaux, and not by individual houses, we have extant several Carthusian grants by particular charterhouses. The mutual admission of the London Charterhouse and St. John's, Clerkenwell, has been already mentioned. On the feast of St. Anne (26th July) 1459 Henry VI, a great seeker after fraternities, being at Coventry immediately before the battle of Blore Heath, was admitted to confraternity by

[1] The abbot's name has been wrongly transcribed as 'Gulielmus dictus Abbas Cestrie'; but the whole context shows that it should read 'Cistercii'.

the prior and convent of the charterhouse of St. Anne's, Coventry (Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 650); and in 1462 John, the prior and convent of the London Charterhouse, admitted Thomas Langley and Anne his wife to the same (Chancery Misc., bdle. 15, file 6, no. 10).

I turn now to letters issued by canons regular. The Black or Austin Canons are represented by only two examples that I have come across. Thomas, prior of the Austin Canons of Dunstable, admits to fellowship Sir Gervase de Wilforde in 1359 (B.M. Stowe MS. 602). After his death, that is to be done for him which is done for a *prior* of the House, implying that his benefaction had been a very considerable one. In 1507 Richard, prior of Kirby Bellers, issues a letter of admission to the privileges of the Order, in which the blank for the name of the recipient has never been filled up (Chancery Misc., bdle. 15, file 6, no. 24).[1]

The Premonstratensian Canons, however, present a very interesting parallel to the Cistercians in this, as in so many other respects. We have three examples, all issued by the general chapter and all to persons of some distinction; and all of a comparatively early date. In 1258 J. the abbot of Prémontré and the general chapter grant the privilege of fellowship in the prayers, etc., of the whole Order to the Lady Hawise de Nevile and her husband Sir John de Gatesdene, on account of her liberality towards their house at Maldon, Essex (generally known as Beeleigh Abbey). They confirm also the grant previously made by the abbot there of a chaplain to celebrate Mass for them in the abbey. It runs as follows:

J. dei paciencia Premonstr' abbas et abbatum eiusdem ordinis capitulum generale. Nobili mulieri domine Hawisie de Nevile uxori domini Iohannis de Gatesdene salutem et orationum munus in Christo. Attendentes devocionis vestre affectum quem vos erga ordinem nostrum et maxime erga domum de Maldona habere didicimus cui multa bona liberaliter contulistis, vicissitudinem quam possumus rependentes, concedimus vobis et dicto domino Iohanni viro vestro et heredibus vestris plenam participacionem orationum et omnium spiritualium beneficiorum que fiunt in universo ordine nostro et decetero fient imperpetuum. Concedimus insuper vobis et presenti scripto capituli nostri confirmamus concessionem vobis factam ab abbate et conventu de Maldona de uno canonico sacerdote divina celebraturo in eadem ecclesia pro vobis et pro heredibus vestris antecessoribus et benefactoribus vestris imperpetuum, vestram devocionem rogantes quatenus dictam ecclesiam et personas ordinis nostri ampliori dilectionis affectu decetero velitis habere obnixius commendatas, ut ab ipso omnium bonorum remuneratore fructum vite eterne percipere valeatis. Dat'. Premonstr' in capitulo generali. Anno gratie m°. cc°. l° viii°. (P.R.O. Ancient Deeds, L. 168.)

The next is of even greater interest, being issued by William, abbot of

[1] See the Appendix for other examples.

Prémontré, and the general chapter to King Edward I in 1290. No particular benefaction to the Order is mentioned as the reason for the grant; but as the mother-abbey of Prémontré was having a good deal of trouble with her English dependencies at this time, it may well be that the general chapter of the Order wished to stand well with the king, and to enlist his sympathy on their side in the dispute. The original grant is not extant, but it is entered in the Registrum Munimentorum Liber A at the Public Record Office on f. 170.

[*Marg.*] Scriptum per quod Guillermus Abbas Premonstr' et Abbatum ejusdem ordinis capitulum generale concedunt Domino E. regie Anglie quod tantum fiet pro eo post decessum suum ut in missis oracionibus et aliis beneficiis quantum pro uno fratre ordinis sui.

Magnifico et serenissimo domino Edwardo dei gracia regi Anglorum illustri Guillermus dei paciencia premonstr' Abbas et Abbatum ejusdem ordinis capitulum generale salutem in eo qui regibus dat salutem et cum devotis ac assiduis oracionibus promptam ac deditam ad ejus beneplacita voluntatem. Sapiencia Dei cujus nutu et providencia omnia disponuntur per quam reges regnant et erudiuntur in timore Domini qui judicabit naciones, in pectore vestro devotissimo m[i]nus sue bonitatis infudit qui in vestro ponitis fiduciam creatore scientes quod archus nec gladius potencie temporalis, set dextera Domini et brachium sanctum ejus salutaris auxilii prestant effectum omnibus in veritate speranti-bus in eodem. Nos in Domino et virtutis ejus potencia confidentes non quod adsit nobis condigna sanitas ad optinendum set pocius sit ejus gracia preveniens et bonitas ad prestandum quod in nomine suo petitur humiliter et devote vobis et regie proli vestre plenam participacionem omnium oracionum et spiritualium beneficiorum que fiunt et decetero in universo ordine nostro fient benigna concedimus in domino caritate. ut pius et misericors Dominus qui justis supplicacionibus semper presto est det vobis assistricem sapienciam per quam ad salutem vestram et gloriam nominis sui regnum vestrum in pace regere regemque regum qui Dominus est dominancium possitis feliciter adipisci. Adicimus vero de gracia speciali quod cum vestri obitus dies nostro innotuerit capitulo generali sub presencium testimonio litterarum, tantum fiet pro vobis in missis vigiliis oracionibus et in psalmis quantum pro uno ex nostris fratribus fieri consuevit cum decedit. Ordinamus eciam ut singuli ordinis nostri sacerdotes pro vobis et familiaribus vestris quos hujusmodi gracie volueritis esse participes et consortes tres missas celebrent isto anno unam de Spiritu Sancto secundam de beata virgine et terciam pro personis, ut ante occulos conditoris vestre devocionis sacrificium sit acceptum, ut per oraciones fidelium vos et regnum vestrum in suo beneplacito corroboret et confirmet et addatur gracia capiti vestro et torques eterni premii collo vestro. vivat et valeat dominus Rex ac honoris et regni sui zelatores feliciter et optineant regnum felicius in eternum. Datum Premonstr[ati] anno Domini m°. cc. lxxxx, sedente capitulo generali.

I have to thank my friend Mr. A. Story Maskelyne, of H.M. Record Office, for a transcript of the above document, which is mentioned in Gasquet's *Collectanea Premonstratensia.*

The third example was issued by Adam, abbot of Prémontré, and the general chapter in 1323 to Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, who had it copied into his register.

[*Marg.*] Quod conceditur domino episcopo participacio oracionum et bonorum operum que sunt in ordine Premonstratensi.

Venerabili in Christo patri domino Thome dei gracia Wygornensi episcopo Adam dei paciencia Premonstr' Abbas et Abbatum eiusdem ordinis capitulum generale salutem et oraciones in domino salutares Pie devocionis effectus qua fideles Christi ad regnum eius aspirare videmus specialiter et merito nos invitat ut eorum devocionem apud deum precibus assiduis adiuvemus quatinus deuocio sic concepta de die in diem in melius prouehatur et perseverancia coronetur. Cum igitur inter speciales nostri ordinis zelatores vos reputamus precipue propter affectionem quam erga ecclesias de Wellebecke et Hales nostri ordinis vos habere didicimus vicissitudinem quam possumus rependentes plenam participacionem oracionum et omnium bonorum spiritualium que fiunt et de cetero in universo ordine fient benigna vobis in domino concedimus caritate. Adicientes de gracia speciali quod cum obitus vestri dies nostro innotuerit generali capitulo, sub presentium testimonio literarum tantum fiet pro vobis in missis vigiliis oracionibus et in psalmis quantum pro uno de fratribus nostris fieri consuevit cum decederit, recolligentes eciam personam vestram specialiter in tribus missis una videlicet de spiritu sancto secundo de beata virgine tercia pro personis celebrandis hoc anno a quolibet nostri ordinis sacerdote. Dat' premonstr' Anno domini millesimo ccc°. xxiij^{cio}. sedente capitulo nostro generali. (Reg. Bp. Thos. Cobham, Worc., f. 91 *b*.)

It is interesting to note in the two examples last quoted some details of the specifically Premonstratensian manner of commemoration of deceased benefactors, recollection of their *persona* in the three masses prescribed annually for the purpose: of the Holy Ghost, of the Blessed Virgin, and 'pro personis'. The specially Premonstratensian style of *dei paciencia* 'by the sufferance of God' may be noted, and the fact that these documents were all specially prepared—not issued in blank, to be filled in later. Whether this was done by the Premonstratensians in the case of humbler persons, we do not as yet know; but we get some interesting examples of persons admitted to fraternity in the Order, not in the general, but in the provincial, chapter of England, in *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, i, pp. 154, 171, 176.

I have only come across three instances of admission to benefits by a nunnery; namely, that by the Brigettines of Syon to John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and Elizabeth his consort, in the fifteenth century. A copy of this is in the Public Record Office (Exch. K.R. Eccl. Docs., 21/50); the others are by the same house, to the prior and convent of Durham (Surtees Soc., vol. xxxi, pp. 111, 118).

IV

We turn now to the Friars, and find that they too adopted the plan of rewarding their benefactors by admitting them to a share in the prayers and good works of the Order. The second document, which I illustrate, is the earliest example of a Friars' grant of the kind which I have come across, and presents also some special points of interest. It is reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Roland Childe, of Kinlet Hall, Salop, at which house I saw it about two years ago (pl. v, fig. 1). The date is 24th June 1279, and by it the *diffinitores* and brethren of the provincial chapter of Austin Friars, assembled at Yarmouth, grant participation in the benefits of the Order to Brian de Brompton and Emma his wife on account of their general affection to the Order; and in particular, their kindness to the friars' house in Ludlow, in the enlargement of their dwelling-place and the support of the brethren therein, is rewarded by the assignment of a chaplain to say mass for them and their heirs at our Lady's altar in the church. Then follows the usual conclusion, that on the announcement of their deaths in the provincial chapter that shall be done for them which is done for the departed brethren of the Order.

Brian de Brompton, the third of the name, lord of Kinlet and Brompton (now Brampton Bryan), who died in 1287, married as his first wife, Emma, daughter of Thomas Corbet and sister of Peter Corbet, successively lords of Caus. She died in 1284. Eyton in his *Antiquities of Shropshire* (iv, 250) gives an account of a wonderful solar phenomenon seen at Kinlet in March 1282, by Brian de Brompton, when in the company of the prior of the Austin Friars of Ludlow, thus furnishing an interesting corroboration of the statement of our document, as to the favour shown by the lord of Kinlet to the Ludlow Friars. The reference is to the Annales Eccl. Wigorn., as given in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, vol. i, p. 506:

> Anno mcclxxxii . . . Hoc anno Idus Martii praesentibus Priore Ordinis S. Augustini de Lodelawe, Domino Brienno de Bromtone et aliis militibus et multis aliis apud Kinlet apparuerunt tres Soles, unus in Oriente, alius in Occidente, tertius in Meridie.

Of the early history of the Austin Friars' house in Ludlow, the recipient of Brian de Brompton's benefactions, nothing, except this deed of 1279, is known prior to 1282; but it seems not unlikely that its foundation took place soon after that at the Woodhouse on the Clee Hills, which we are told was one of the earliest foundations of the Order in England, and that it represents the shifting of the Friars' work from a solitary country spot to a considerable town, some time between 1260 and 1270. It was probably older than the Shrewsbury house, as it was the head of one of the five *limites* or districts into which the

English province was divided, the others being Oxford, Lincoln, Cambridge, and York.

It will be noticed that the grant is issûed not by the provincial prior, as was the usual practice, but by the *diffinitores* and brethren of the provincial chapter. These *diffinitores* were, according to Ducange, a sort of standing committee consisting of nine officials appointed by the general chapter of many Orders, to discharge the duties of the chapter in the intervals of its meetings; but the provincial *diffinitores* were probably a body distinct from those appointed by the general chapter, and Dr. A. G. Little tells me that they were an executive committee of four friars, elected by the provincial chapter.

The seal of the *diffinitores* and chapter is missing from this document, but I am enabled by the courtesy of the Society to reproduce an impression, part of their collection, from the matrix now in the National Museum in Dublin, showing the four *diffinitores* with their title attached (pl. v, fig. 2).

This is the only record of the provincial chapter of Austin Friars, held at Yarmouth in 1279, so far as is known; and its time of meeting (24th June) is earlier than that customary for the provincial chapter in England, which seems to have usually been held on the feast of the Assumption of the B.V.M. (15th August). It is therefore possible, as Dr. Little suggests, to whom I owe all the information I quote on this part of my subject, that the chapter was called earlier than usual on account of the death of the provincial prior, which might explain the omission of his name; but there is no evidence to prove that this was actually the case.

V

In later times these letters of confraternity or of grants of participation became much more frequent, especially among the Friars; and must have formed a considerable source of revenue to the monastic and mendicant bodies, the gilds, and the hospitals which issued them, both at home and abroad. Mr. C. T. Clay, our Fellow, has kindly communicated to me an example dated 1369, the property of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, issued by Geoffrey [Hardeby] prior provincial of the Austin Friars in England to John Thornholme and Margaret his wife. This is in common form, without the special privileges given to Brian de Brompton, or the recital of any specific benefits conferred on the Order; and the insertion of the names of the grantees in a different ink (as in the Lacock example) shows that these documents were prepared beforehand, perhaps in quantity, and filled in as issued, and may be an early instance of the practice of selling these letters round the country.

I also owe to the kindness of Mr. R. C. Fowler, F.S.A., knowledge of a grant of 135– (the last numeral is not clear) preserved at the Public Record Office, whereby David, vicar of the prior general of the Austin Friars (and therefore probably not the same as the provincial prior) in England, grants participation in benefits to Helen Beaufo[rt ?].

In a grant of 1397, also at the Public Record Office, the master of the Order of Friars Preachers (Black Friars) gives participation in benefits to the prioress and convent of St. Bartholomew's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, of the Benedictine Order of St. Leonard. In 1401 Thomas de Firmo, master, admits the prior and convent of the London Charterhouse to participation, and in 1422 the provincial prior of England admits the prior and monks of Beauvale Charterhouse to a like privilege; all these of the Black Friars, and all preserved in the Public Record Office.

We are now in the full course of the flood-tide of letters of confraternity and participation, and I cannot do more than make the briefest mention of those I have come across, with some attempt at a rough classification.

In the Public Record Office Mr. Fowler has told me of thirty-six, including the Prémontré letter of 1258 and those of the Black Friars mentioned above. Besides these, Mr. C. T. Clay has brought to my notice that of 1369, Mr. C. L. Kingsford tells me of an Austin Friars' grant of 1445 among Lord De L'Isle's papers. There is one of 1481 in the Shrewsbury Museum, which has the curious feature of being second-hand, the name of 'Hew Lety' having been substituted for 'John Spenlove', and another of 1482 is reported from Shakenhurst in South Shropshire. Owen and Blakeway in their *History of Shrewsbury* (ii, 455 *n.*) quote as from 'the exchequer in Salop' a grant of 1480, of which the original seems to have disappeared. All these of the Austin Friars.

Owen and Blakeway further give (ii, 462 *n.*) a copy of a Grey Friars' letter of confraternity of 1479 'from the muniments of the Mytton family'; and (especially since this paper was first read) many other examples of this same year have been brought to my notice. Altogether, in the course of only a few months' inquiry I have heard of more than 150 of these letters of fraternity (or participation) of which almost exactly one-half were issued by the various Orders of friars. As a rule they grow longer and more complicated as time goes on, and introduce in increasing measure among the benefits conferred the privilege of sharing in the indulgences granted by successive popes to the bodies that issued them; whether available for the living, or for living and dead alike, as was the case after 1476. It would be straying too far from my present purpose to discuss these later indulgences, which indeed formed no essential part of these confraternity letters, since indulgences were freely given without any participation or fraternity in an order, or hospital, or gild, while

the earlier letters of fraternity contain no reference to specific indulgences; but I should like to have an interpretation given to me of a phrase which occurs in two Salopian examples of the Austin Friars' letters, and, I doubt not, elsewhere as well:

Addens eciam de speciali gracia a nostris sanctis patribus omnibus fratribus et sororibus nostris tam vivis quam mortuis videlicet quatuor centum et viginti quatuor dierum ab illis dictis et confessis misericorditer a Domino relaxamus.[1]

The general meaning is clear; an indulgence of 424 days, which one may reasonably conjecture to be made up of an earlier grant of twenty-four days, and a later one of 400; but how does one construe the Latin?

VI

If one may now attempt to classify the Friars' Letters, which form just about half the total number known to me, we find that as a rule the earliest are issued by the general of the Order, those of a somewhat later date by the provincial, and the latest of all by the local heads of houses. This is shown perhaps most clearly in the following conspectus of the known letters of the English Black Friars:

A. Issued by the Master, or General.

c. 1230. Jordan of Saxony (successor of St. Dominic) to Henry III.
1397. Raymund, master, to convent of St. Bartholomew, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1401. Thomas de Firmo, master, to the London Charterhouse.

B. By Provincial Prior.

t. Edw. II. Aymeric, 'provincial master', to abbot and convent, St. Augustine's, Canterbury.
1368. Thomas de Bodekysham, p. p., to William Riburgh.
1422. John Redysdale, p. p., to Beauvale Charterhouse.
1462. John, provincial in England, to [*illegible*].
1485. John Payne, p. p., to Henry Langley (pl. VII, fig. 1).
1507. Robert Felmyngham, p. p., to John Bery.

C. By Local Prior.

1478. Christopher Roughton, l. p. of Warwick, to [*blank*].
1489. Robert Jacsone, l. p. of Derby, to the Lady Clinton.
1520. Richard Godryk, l. p. of Lincoln, to Edith Hosey.

[1] Since this paper was read, various emendations of the passage have been suggested to me, of which the most probable appears to be the following: 'Addens eciam de speciali gracia [indulgentiam] a nostris sanctis patribus omnibus fratribus et sororibus nostris [concessam] tam vivis quam mortuis videlicet quatuor centum et viginti quatuor dierum [quas] illis contritis et confessis misericorditer a Domino relaxamus'.

The Grey Friars' letters, while following the same general course, exhibit some interesting variants.

A. Issued by Minister General.

1407. Anthony de Pereto, m. g., to earl of Westmorland.
1412. The same to Sir John Pelham (admits to prayers of Minoresses of St. Clare *ubicumque terrarum*).
1420. Thomas, vicar of m. g., to Thomas Compton.
1524. Francis de Angelis, m. g., to Sir John Kirkham.

A 1. By Cismontane Observants.

1475. Angelus de Clavasio, vicar-general, to Luca dei Ugolini (Florentine).
1533. Francis Faber, deputy of commissary-general, to prior of Durham.

A 2. By Friars Minor of the Holy Land.

1471. Silvester de la Noe, procurator, to Thomas Gee.
1473. Franciscus Placentinus, procurator, to Laurence Roche.

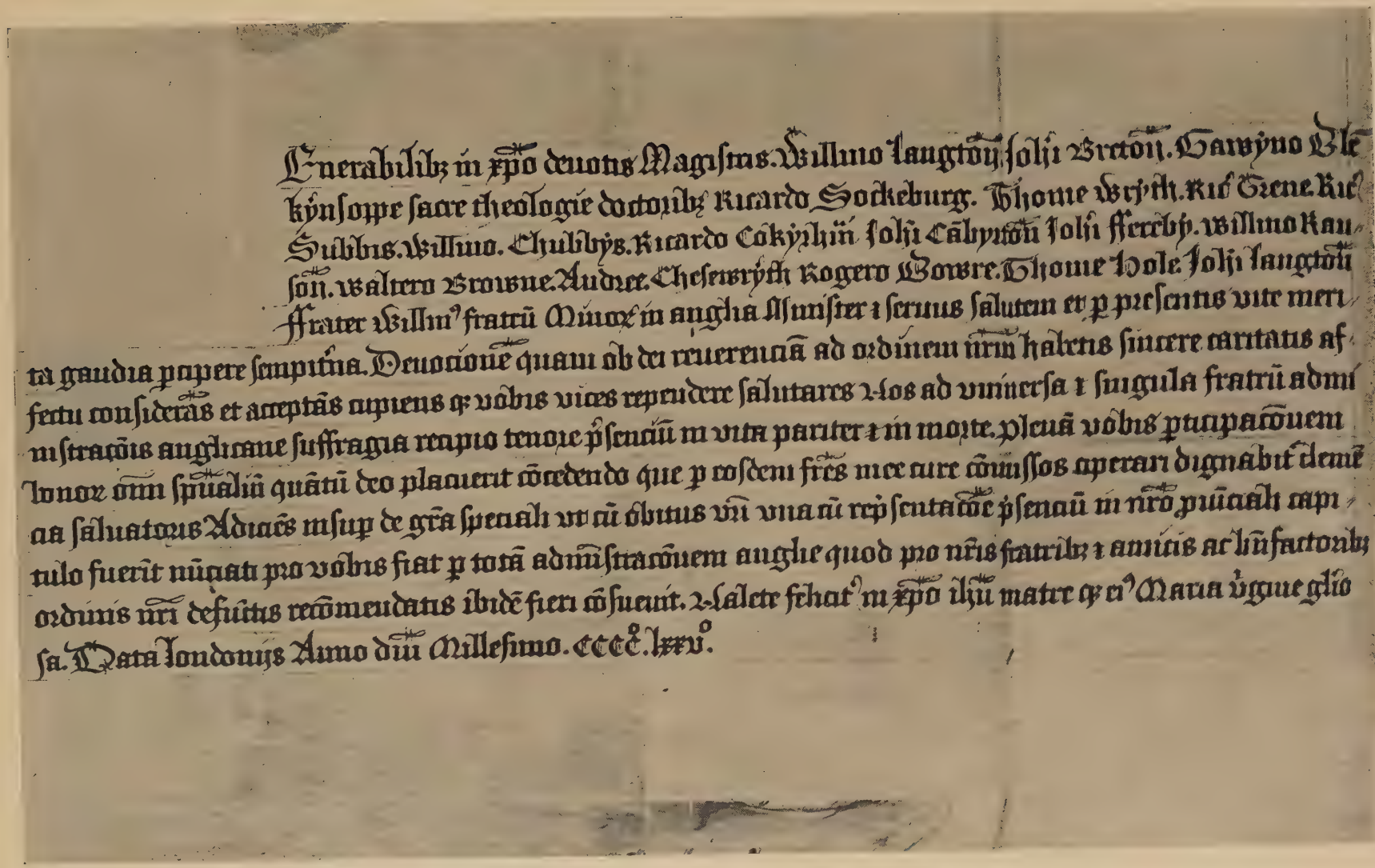
B. By Provincial Minister.

1407. John Zouch, pr. min., to Wm. Lord Ferrers.
1432. Richard [Leak], pr. min., to Thomas Bate.
1459. Thomas, pr. min., to Sir Edmund Houden.
1462. Thomas, pr. min., to John Marchal.
1469. Thomas, pr. min., to John Wormlay.
1470. William, pr. min., to Thomas Bucke.
1475. William [Goddard], pr. min., to Pembroke College, Cambridge (pl. vi).

C. By Local Head or Gardianus.

1479. John, guard. of F. M. of Cambridge, to Andrew Doket.
1479. John, guard. of F. M. of Stafford, to William Hocket.
1479. R., guard. of F. M. of Doncaster, to Roger Alyn.
1479. R., guard. of F. M. of Salop, to Thomas Mytton.
1479. James, guard. of F. M. of Preston, to Laurence Horrokys.
1479. John, guard. of F. M. of Canterbury, to [*blank*].
1479. William, guard. of F. M. of Hartlepool, to Sir Robert Claxton.
1479. John, guard. of F. M. of Nottingham, to Thomas Hede.
1479. Same to Richard Hede.
1481. William, guard. of F. M. of Bedford, to Nicholas Wallys.

What strikes us first about this list is the fact that nine out of the ten letters issued by local *gardiani* date from the year 1479. The explanation is that in that year, or rather just previous to it, Pope Sixtus IX issued an indulgence to the Franciscan Order, and the *confratres* and *consorores* of the same, to choose a confessor who could give them plenary absolution once in the year following



Provincial Minister of Franciscans to Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1475 ($\frac{1}{1}$)

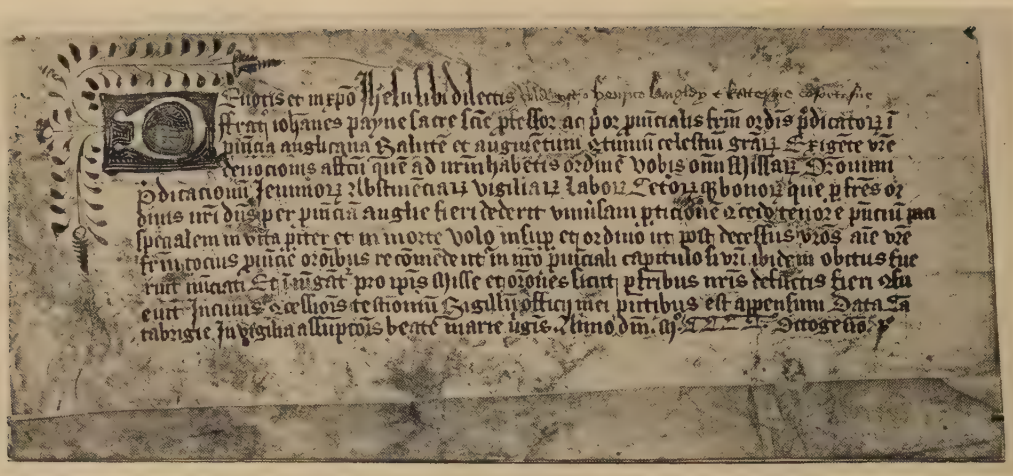
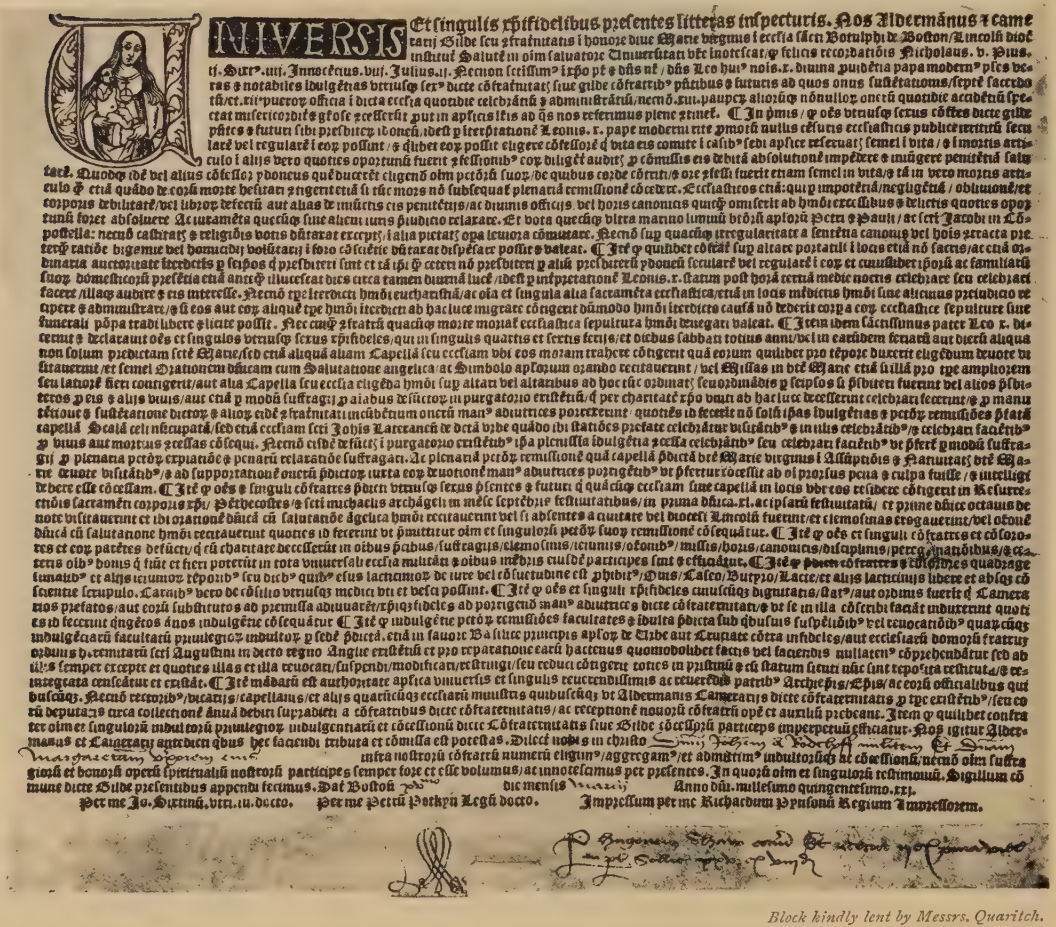


Fig. 1. Provincial Prior of Dominicans to Henry Langley, 1485 (½)



Block kindly lent by Messrs. Quaritch.

Fig. 2. Boston Indulgence. R. Pynson, 1521 (much reduced)

4th April 1479. Obviously this had to be taken advantage of within the year, if at all; and this accounts for the large issue of letters in that year, other years being practically unrepresented in this particular division. But the most interesting letters are those issued by the vicar-general, or his commissary of the Cismontane Observants. The reform of the Franciscan Order known as the brethren of the Observance, from their claim to observe the Franciscan Rule in its original strictness, arose in or about the year 1373, and they were later recognized as distinct from the rest of the Order (who were styled Conventuals), and organized into two groups, the Cismontane, south of the Alps, and the northern, or Ultramontane; the former under a vicar-general, resident in Rome, and probably the latter also. It is further of interest to note that Francis Faber, who issues in 1533 the letter of fraternity to the prior and convent of Durham, was both provincial minister of the English Observants and deputy (if I read the document right) of the commissary-general of the Cismontanes. There were only six English houses of this kind, and these are chiefly known as the strenuous opponents of Henry VIII's divorce, and the victims of his resentment at their unyielding attitude in 1534.[1] It may also be noted in passing that Hugh Whitehead, the prior of Durham thus admitted to fraternity, was more amenable to the royal will, and was rewarded by being made the first dean of Durham under the Reformed constitution.

The interest of the letters issued on behalf of the Franciscans of the Holy Land is of a different kind. Two survive, as at present known, of which one is a modern transcript. They are issued by the proctor who represented the interests of the Franciscans settled at Bethlehem, Mount Calvary, the Holy Sepulchre, the Cenaculum, and Beirut, which is claimed as the place where St. George fought the dragon, in accordance with one form of the legend.[2]

There remain one or two letters, the Franciscan attribution of which is more doubtful, though they are more probably to be assigned to that Order than to any other.

In the *Archaeological Journal*, xvii, 254 there is printed a grant of confraternity by William Lyale, 'presbyter capellanus honeris [*sic*] sepulcri domini nostri Ihu. Xti in Jerusalem procurator ecclesiarum in q . . . peperit alvus virginalis . . .', to Richard Erle, gen., admitting him to the privilege of 8,000 years indulgence and as many Lents, 30,000 masses and as many 'spalters'. Dated 1461. There is also a fragment, used as the fly-leaf in the binding of MS. 170

[1] See Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ch. v; also Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*.

[2] See Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 37. The *Legenda Aurea* places the fight near a city called Silena, in the province of Libya; the Greek versions edited by Aufhauer (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft 5) call it Lasia. Thanks to Mr. E. Lobel, of the Bodleian Library.

in the Library of Eton College, which Dr. A. G. Little is inclined to think Franciscan; it was given at Boston some time in 1372. The fly-leaf at the end of the Bodleian MS. Rawl. C. 72 is quite clearly Franciscan, but has been so much mutilated by the binder that it is difficult to say by whom it was issued. As, however, it admits the recipient the Lady Beatrice Ros to the suffrages of the orders of St. Clare and the Minoresses generally, and contains no reference to Papal indulgences, the inference is that it was granted by the provincial, or even general of the Order, and is of comparatively early date, probably within the fourteenth century. It is dated from London on the 20th of April in a year which has been cut off in binding.

The Austin Friars' letters are chiefly characterized by the large proportion of those remaining which were issued by the provincial prior or chapter. This was probably the case in the other Orders as well, since these letters were often spoken of as 'letters provincial'.

A. Grants by Prior-general or his vicar.

135- By David, vic. of p. g., to Helen Beaufo[rt?].

B. By Provincial Prior or Chapter.

1279. By *diffinitores* and prov. chapter to Brian de Brompton, dated at Yarmouth.
1369. By Geoffrey [Hardeby], prov. prior, to John Thornholme, „ Hull.
1383. By Thomas, p. p., to Giles Tyler „ Salop.
1404. By William, p. p., to William Makney „ Oxford.
1427. By Thomas, p. p., to Robert Deyn „ Tickhill.
1438. By William, p. p., to John Morton „ York.
1440. By William, p. p., to Robert Norys „ Cambridge.
1445. By Thomas, p. p., to Dame Katherine Howard „ Clare.
1475. By Thomas, p. p., to Thomas Stanton „ London.
1480. By Thomas, p. p., to Robert Cotwall „ Salop.

C. By local Priors or Convents.

1481. Thomas, l. p. of Salop, to John Spenlove.
1482. Thomas, l. p. of Woodhouse, to John Cleberi.
1511. The Austin Friars of York to the Lord Darcy (not strictly a letter of fraternity, but a grant of a perpetual trental and suffrages, expressly stated to be made with the concurrence of the Provincial).

Of the fourth great order of Friars, the Carmelites, there is less to be said. Only five letters have so far come to light, and of these three owe their preservation to having been used as fly-leaves for binding other MSS. In consequence two of the three so used have been badly mutilated; but a comparison with the more complete specimens enables us to assign them at any rate to this order.

A. Issued by Prior general—*None.*

B. By Provincial Prior.

1382. Robert, p. p., to Giles Tyler, dated at Bristol.
1469? Stephen, p. p., to Sir William . . .
1512. Robert, p. p., to Sir Henry Willoughby.

C. By Local Priors.

1396. William, l. p. of Scarborough, to Agnes Wyndhyll.
1416. William, l. p. of Oxford, to John Lincott.

There remains the smaller order of the Trinitarian Friars or Maturines, of which, though they had only eleven houses in England, we have thirteen letters surviving, all later than 1438, and all issued by the *minister* or head of a particular house. As one-third of all money received by these Friars was to be devoted to the ransom of Christians captive in the hands of heathen, we have an explanation at once of their energy in collecting funds and of men's willingness to contribute. All of the letters contain a recitation of the special privileges granted by successive popes to the order, and though some stop short of the formula 'recipio te . . . in confraternitatem', yet all imply that the person addressed is entitled to share in the privileges, and therefore I have included them all under the description of Letters of Confraternity. The latest in date is that issued by Ralph Bekwith, *minister* of Hounslow in 1508, to Henry Prince of Wales, destined to succeed to the throne the following year and within thirty years to destroy the whole monastic system of England. As being intended for Royal use, this letter has a very handsome and elaborately ornamented border.

The Friars' letters of fraternity were also, as stated above, known as 'letters provincial' from the general custom of their issue by the provincial of the order. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, f. liii *b*:

> For while fortune is thy friend, friers will thee love
> And fetche thee to their fraternity and for thee beseche
> To her prior provincial a pardon to have.

Again, speaking of the Day of Judgement, he says that it will be of no avail to have

> A poke full of pardons, ne provincial letters
> Though ye be founden in the fraternitie of the iiii orders.
>
> f. xxxviii *b.*

(From the note in Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* (1817), p. 240.)

Letters issued by Hospitals

The Hospital of Burton Lazars, maintained by the knights of St. Lazarus, an offshoot of the Hospitallers, was a great issuer of letters of fraternity. I have notices of fourteen, two of which have never had the blank, which was left for the name of the grantee, filled up. The master of the house is usually described as 'miles', and the general appeal of the hospital must have been much the same as that of the Hospital proper, though the latter institution seems to have worked by means of indulgences, such as we find in the Public Record Office, Chancery Misc., bdle. 15, file 6, nos. 5 and 15 (see also *Arch. Journal*, xvii, 252), rather than by admission to confraternity.

Another large issuer of these letters was the hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas the Martyr, in Rome. Thirteen of these survive and r angein date from 1389 to 1486; they were in the name of the chamberlains, wardens, and procurator of the hospital, and we may reasonably suppose that they had a special popularity in England, owing to the title of the English martyred archbishop.

Walsoken Hospital, Norfolk (see Westlake, *Parish Gilds of Mediæval England*, p. 74) is represented by six letters in the list, 1465–1505. They run in the name of the master or warden, and brethren of the hospital of the Holy Trinity.

The only remaining letter of fraternity issued by a Hospital is one of rather special interest, being granted in 1318 to John de Thormerton by the prior John del Ok, and brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, Gloucester, and is printed in *Archaeologia*, xiv, p. 267. The nature of the services of commemoration are set forth in some detail. At all commemorations of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the hospital, all the brethren in priest's orders, not otherwise engaged for the profit of the same, shall be present at the first vespers of the commemoration, clad in surplices, and the Hebdomadary shall wear a cope at the Magnificat and prayer following. The prior and all the brethren shall be present at Mattins, the Hour before Mass, and the Mass of the commemoration, in surplices, as aforesaid. To carry out this obligation, they pledge all the possessions of the house, and for greater security have fulminated the sentence of the greater excommunication against those who contravene it, on the feast of St. Leonard, 1318, in full chapter with lighted candles and tolling of bells, and this charter is to be read annually on the said feast in common Chapter. The consideration for which all this was granted was the gift to the Hospital by John de Thormerton of a tenement, etc., *in venella que dicitur Herlone*, lately bought by him of John Sage, burgess of Gloucester, as well as thirty-three shillings and fourpence paid down in cash. A foot-note in *Archaeologia* states

that the hospital was founded in the thirteenth year of Henry III for a master, a prior, and three brethren, besides a considerable number of poor infirm men and women, and that John del Ok was the sixth prior.

With the hospitals may be reckoned the foundation of 'Knollesalmes hous', Pontefract, whose master, John Gotheworth, admits Richard, earl of Salisbury, to fraternity in 1447.

Letters issued by Gilds

The Gilds which issued letters of fraternity were probably very numerous, but only a few have come under my observation.[1] The very early agreement of the Church of St. Martin-le-Grand and the Gild of Saddlers, referred to earlier in this paper, is rather a grant of fraternity *to* the Gild than *by* it. The Gilds issuing letters of confraternity in regular form are those of the Chapel of St. Mary-in-the-Sea, or Newton, near Ely, and the Gild of St. Mary in the Church of St. Botolph, Boston. Of the former we have seven examples, from that issued by Thomas Blowyk, *magister*, to Margaret Heryng in 1408 to the two granted in 1510 by William Thornburgh to Dame Katharine Langley and Sir Gylpin Calthorp. One dated 1503 is printed; the rest are still written by hand. But when we come to the Boston letters (see Westlake, *Parish Gilds of Mediæval England*, pp. 16, 75), of which we have seven ranging from 1507 to 1531, we find them all printed. They are also the most voluminous, as they are among the latest of such letters, and must have been issued in large quantities, since in the later 'editions' the year is printed, the month and day only being left to be filled in with the name of the recipients, implying that a fresh batch was required every year. Messrs. B. Quaritch have kindly lent an illustration of the letter of 1521, in their possession (pl. VII, fig. 2). Those of 1519 and 1521 are printed by Richard Pynson, the king's printer; that of 1531, which I was enabled to exhibit to the Society by the courtesy of the abbot of Downside, where it is preserved, bears the name of Richard Fakes, or Faques, of whom some account is given in *A Century of the English Book Trade*, by E. Gordon Duff, 1905, pp. 44, 45, a reference which I owe to the kindness of our Fellow Dom Ethelbert Horne. By this we learn that he was doubtless a native of Normandy and a near relation of William Faques, printer in London, to whose business and material he succeeded about 1509. In 1511 he joined with W. de Worde

[1] Dom Berlière, in the article in the *Revue Liturgique et Monastique*, referred to at the beginning of this paper, distinguishes between the *confraternitas* or spiritual fellowship of a monastery and the confraternities (confréries) or gilds established in honour of the patron saint, regarding these latter as a special development of the original conception. An instance of a 'confrérie' will be found on p. 34 (Scala Celi in St. Anastasius, Rome). We may look upon the gilds in connexion with parish churches as a further development of the same idea.

and others in printing a Sarum Missal. His next dated book is *Horae ad usum Sarum*, printed for him at Paris, 1521. In this he alters his name to Fakes. In 1523 he changed it to Faukes, and this became Fawkes in the last dated book he issued, printed in 1530. After this, says the writer, nothing is known of him, but the Downside letter is evidence that he was still at work in 1531, and reverted to the older, though not to the original, spelling of his name. He may have died in 1538.

At the foot of the Boston letters of 1521 and 1531, and possibly in other cases where I have not noted the fact, is a written note by Hugh Shaw 'canc.' (Chancellor of the Gild?) acknowledging receipt of two shillings, a first instalment of 26*s.* 8*d.* which we may therefore conclude to have been the price of a Boston confraternity. Others could be got at a cheaper rate. A 'fraternity' in St. Thomas's Hospital, Rome, cost William Pelham and his wife in 1476 one shilling only, if we are to be guided by the marginal note 'precium xij^{d}' (B. M. Add. MS. 29265), but the note 'pro ordine iiii^{d}' written on the grant in 1487 by Richard, minister of the Trinitarian Friars of Moddenden, co. Kent, with a blank, never filled up, for the name of the recipient, may refer only to a fee for the bearer.[1]

In any case, there is a steady decline in the sum required to obtain a confraternity, from the 3,000 bezants, in addition to a valuable legacy, of at least twice as much, paid in 1050 by the duke of Italy for a confraternity with the monastery of Farfa, the prebend of Hastings bestowed on Robertsbridge in 1183–4 by the count of Eu, the 100*l.* lent by Henry de Bluntesdone to Worcester in 1295, even from the tenement in Gloucester given by John de Thormerton in 1318, to the trifling sums recorded in these latest grants. It is quite likely that the price paid was not uniform, but varied in some cases with the circumstances of the person seeking admission to fraternity; but the Pelhams at least were persons of consideration, and they paid no more than a shilling for fraternity in St. Thomas's Hospital, Rome.

This being so, it cannot be wondered at that certain persons and families seem to have had a passion for accumulating letters of fraternity. Henry VI has already been mentioned. The Pelhams had fraternity in Scala Celi, Rome (1450), the whole Franciscan Order, including the Minoresses of St. Clare (1412), St. Thomas's, Rome (1447, 1459, 1476); the Langleys in the London Charterhouse (1462), the Black Friars of England (1485), the Moddenden Trinitarians (1485), St. Thomas's, Rome (1475), St. Mary's Gild, Boston (15 . .?), St. Mary's-in-the-Sea (1510). The preservation of such letters as survive was probably purely accidental; in fact two of the Pelham letters of fraternity in St. Thomas's,

[1] A Rouncival Pardon cost fourpence (Westlake, *Gilds, &c*, p. 97).

Rome, have the marginal note, 'kept only for the tryall of the pedagre', i. e. in view of a coming Herald's Visitation, as though to disarm any suspicion that they were being kept for their original purpose, which would argue a dangerous inclination to Papistry, and the unreformed order of things. For the proper use of these letters was that after the death of the recipient they should be sent to the chapter, general, provincial, or conventual, by whose authority they had been granted, as evidence of their claim to absolution and commemoration, together with, presumably, proof of the death; the requisite services would then be performed, and the name, where this was promised, entered in the martyrology of the house; after which the letter would be so much waste parchment; which may perhaps account for their being used up for binding purposes. We find frequent directions in later medieval wills that the 'pardon' (or letter of fraternity) which the testator has for such and such a house shall be sent there after his death; and this use of the name indicates that they were looked upon as a kind of spiritual life-insurance, as in fact they were.

If we may continue this analogy a little farther, we find in the 'pardoners' a medieval counterpart to the agents of a life-insurance office, plying their trade with the authority of the parent society, within certain districts and, except in the case of 'exempt' orders, under licence from the local authority, i. e. the bishop. There were 'pardoners' for general indulgences, and there were those for fraternity in special bodies, and we find in our Episcopal Registers a good many entries of licences to the proctors of various hospitals, etc., to sell their 'pardons' in the Diocese. The Hereford Registers show instances from about 1400, of such licences to the proctors of St. Thomas's, Rome; St. Anthony, Vienna; St. Thomas Acon, London; St. Mary Rouncival; Burton Lazars; Thelisford, etc. Whether any fee was payable for these licences, we are not told; in all probability it was so; but, at any rate, it is certain that the proctors or pardoners had to pay the parent house for the privilege. In Madox's *Formulare*, ccxlix, p. 149, we have a lease dated St. John Baptist, 14 Ed. IV (24th June 1474), of the offerings made to Thelisford Hospital throughout the county of Gloucester, to Richard Berneys and Denys Rede for four years for four marks a year. The names of the brethren and sisters are to be brought yearly to Thelisford, which stamps it clearly as concerned with the sale of such letters as, e. g., the Harl. MS. 43. A. 12.

In some cases also the proctors seem to have worked under royal licence, as for instance Friar Ridlay, of the Austin Friars of Woodhouse on the slopes of the Clee Hills in Shropshire (if I am right in supposing him to be a brother of the house), who was working up to the very period of the Dissolution. Robert Nevell writes to Cromwell on 26th August 1538, that he sends the certificate of the suppression of the Friars of Woodhouse; and the king's broad

seal given to one Rydlay to gather men's alms. He makes brethren and sisters as he was wont to do, to the great hindrance of the glory of God, and hurt of his people (*Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), no. 194).

I have tried to observe the distinction between letters of confraternity strictly so called and those which merely grant participation in benefits; but the distinction appears to be one rather of phraseology and the custom of each order than of real difference in effect. The two classes are practically equivalent; to become a 'confrater' of an order was necessarily to become partaker in its benefits, and it is hard to see any real difference between being absolved 'as is one of us' (the Lacock deed) and confraternity in the strict sense of the word. Speaking broadly, we may say that hospitals and gilds granted confraternity, religious orders as a rule participation, the chief exception being furnished by the Grey Friars, most, if not all, of whose letters are confraternities.

In their first inception and early development, these letters were the natural and often spontaneous expression of gratitude to the benefactors of a religious house or order: but it is obvious that the later letters were simply what we should nowadays describe as certificates of honorary membership in the society, in return for a donation to its funds; and that hospitals, gilds, etc., competed with one another in the attractiveness with which they were able to invest their confraternity owing to special privileges through indulgences granted by successive popes.

The whole subject needs more thorough working out, especially with regard to the development of indulgences, and the first step should be the collection of more of the later examples, which must have been at one time very common, and even now exist, we cannot doubt, in considerable numbers, preserved, together with documents of actual or former legal importance (a thing which of course these grants never had) under the general category of 'title-deeds', in many of the country houses of England.

As the question has been raised, whether confraternity letters are still issued, and to what extent, it may be of interest to quote the following sentences from a letter of Dom Berlière to Miss R. Graham, who kindly allows their publication:

> Les confraternités existent encore entre certains monastères, moins fréquents qu'auparavant, et la raison en est que les monastères bénédictins sont aujourd'hui groupés en congrégations le plus souvent régionales et que les constitutions prévoient les suffrages à accorder au décès d'un membre de la congrégation dans tous les monastères qui en font partie. Des lettres de confraternité sont accordées à certaines communautés d'autres ordres en raison de relations toutes particulières, par exemple de services rendus, etc.
>
> De même on accorde encore à de grands bienfaiteurs des lettres de confraternité.

Cela ne se fait plus avec l'ampleur qu'on y apportait par exemple aux xi^e^ et xii^e^ siècles, mais le fait subsiste.

By this it appears that letters of confraternity are now reduced to something more nearly resembling their original purpose, and no longer exhibit the abuses and exaggerations which marked their development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and which called forth the scathing denunciations of satirists and reformers.

There only remains for me the pleasant duty of thanking all those who have given me their help in the preparation of this paper. First and principally I have to acknowledge the great generosity of Miss R. Graham, and the trouble she has taken in the communication of references and of valuable suggestions; as well as the great deal of time and trouble given by our Assistant Secretary in looking up references, etc.; but to all whose names I have mentioned in the course of the paper, I am deeply indebted for the examples they have brought to my notice, and for the interest they have evinced. Mr. R. C. Fowler of the Public Record Office, and Dr. H. H. E. Craster of the Bodleian Library have been specially helpful, as well as Dr. A. G. Little, F.B.A., who, with his wide knowledge of all that concerns the Mendicant Orders, has been most generous in elucidating obscure points connected with the Friars' Letters; but to all and sundry I desire to record my thanks for their help in investigating a subsidiary, but not uninteresting, side of the medieval life of our country.

APPENDIX

CLASSIFIED LIST OF LETTERS OF CONFRATERNITY

I. ISSUED BY MONASTIC HOUSES

(*a*) Benedictines.

1260. Hyde Abbey to bishop, dean, and chapter of Salisbury. B.M. Cott. Ch. viii. 1.
1295. Prior and convent of Worcester to Henry de Bluntesdone and John de Grundwell. B.M. Cott. Ch. viii. 2.
c. 1298. Gen. Chapter of Benedictines of prov. Canterbury to John Giffard. *Snappe's Formulary*, ed. Salter, p. 358.
1429. William, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, 'honorabili viro Willelmo Paston'. B.M. Add. 17226.
1476. Abbot of Abingdon to Jane Jode (?). P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 12.
1476. William, abbot of St. Albans, to John Say, kt., Elizabeth and Agnes. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/57.
1491. Same to Hugh Spalding, chapl. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/62.
1415. John, prior, and convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, to Wytfrid of Iceland, and family. *Literae Cantuarienses* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 137.
1429. Christ Church, Canterbury, to Thomas Chaucer,[1] and Matilda his wife. *Ibid.*, iii, 152.
1491. Same to Agnes, widow of William Tylle. *Ibid.*, iii, 315.
1486. Abbot and convent of Westminster to the bishop of Durham. Westminster Reg. Bk. 1, f. 7 *b*.
1486. Same to Cecilia Radclyff and Agnes Clyfford, widows. *Ibid.*, f. 10 *b*.
1487. Same to Sir Reginald Bray and Katherine. *Ibid.*, f. 13 *a*.
1490. Same to Thomas Thwaytes, kt., and Alice. *Ibid.*, f. 46 *b*.
1497. Same to Dame Elizabeth Sholdham, abbess of Barking. *Ibid.*, f. 93 *a*.
1497. Same to Dame Elizabeth Fitzlewys, abbess of the Minoresses, London. *Ibid.*
1497. Same to Master Henry Hornby. *Ibid.*
1512. Same to Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby. Westminster Reg. Bk. 2, f. 33.
1515. Same to Philip Underwood, monk of London Charterhouse. *Ibid.*, f. 75.
1515. Same to Richard Brooks, serjeant-at-law. *Ibid.*, f. 75 *b*.

List of 190 grants from Durham, app. to *Durham Obituary Rolls* (Surtees Soc., vol. xxxi), pp. 106 ff.[2]

(*b*) Cluniacs. *None.*

(*c*) Cistercians.

1183–4. Abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux to Henry, count of Eu. Lord De L'Isle's MSS.
1253. Cîteaux chapter-general to abbess and convent of Lacock. Lacock Abbey.
1329. Same to Sir John Hesketh and family (copy). Chetham's Library, Manchester, MS. Towneley, C. 8. 13, p. 695, sect. H. 435.
1436. Same to Sir Geoffrey de Staunton and family. B.M. Harl. iii. B. 8.
1450. Prior of St. Anastasius, Rome, to John Pellam and Joan. B.M. Add. 29262.

[1] Son of the poet.

[2] See also the instances quoted in Mr. Edmund Bishop's *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 358, 359. Also Harl. MS. 638, ff. 245, 256, for examples from Bury St. Edmunds. In the *Literae Cantuarienses*, i, 9–12 are models of such letters to an associated house (Waltham Holy Cross) and to individuals.

(*d*) Carthusians.

i. By prior of Grande Chartreuse.

1437. „ „ to Henry de Kerspere (?) and Margaret. B.M. Add. 39025.

1493. „ „ to Thomas Pilborough and others. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/63.

ii. By single houses.

1430. London Charterhouse to St. John's Hospital, Clerkenwell. Hope, *Hist. of London Charterhouse*, pp. 135, 139.

1459. Coventry Charterhouse to King Henry VI. Westminster Abbey Muniments, 650.

1462. London Charterhouse to Thos. Langley and Anne. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 10.

(*e*) Austin Canons.

1217. Walter, prior, and convent of Merton, to Sir Odo de Dammartin, founder, and the members of hospital of Tandridge. B.M. Cott. Cleop. C. vii. 86.

c. 1250. Eustace, prior, and convent of Merton, to Sir John Hansard, and the Lady Guendreda his wife. *Ibid.*, f. 137^{v}.

1251. Prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, to Richard de Wendover, prebendary of St. Paul's. St. Paul's MSS. Box 70, no. 1759.

1359. A. C. of Dunstable to Sir Gervase de Wilforde. B.M. Stowe MS. 602.

1507. A. C. of Kirby Bellers to [*blank*]. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 24.

(*f*) Premonstratensian Canons.

1258. General chapter of Prémontré to Dame Hawise de Nevile. P.R.O. Ancient Deeds, L. 168.

1290. Same to King Edward I. P.R.O. Registr. Mun., Liber A, f. 170.

1323. Same to Bp. Thos. Cobham of Worcester. Worcester, Cobham Register, f. 91 *b*.

(*g*) Brigettines of Syon.

15th cent. „ to John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, etc. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 21/50.

1455 and 1517. „ to prior and convent of Durham. Surtees Soc., vol. xxxi, pp. 111, 118.

II. ISSUED BY FRIARS

(1) Black Friars.

A. By master or general.

c. 1230. Jordan of Saxony to Henry III. P.R.O. Anc. Correspondence, vol. 62, no. 8.

1397. Raymund, master, to convent of St. Bartholomew, Newcastle. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/44.

1401. Thomas de Firmo, master, to London Charterhouse. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/45.

B. By provincial prior.

t. Ed. II. Aymeric, provincial master, to abbot and convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. *Decem Scriptores*, ed. Twysden, p. 2008.

1368. Thomas de Bodekysham, p. p., to William Riburgh and Joan. P.R.O. Ancient Deeds, A. 13187.

1422. John Redysdale, p. p., to Beauvale Charterhouse. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/47.
1422. Thomas Waryn, p. p., to William and Alice Hereson. B.M. Stowe MS. 605. dat. York.
1462. John, provincial in England, to [*name illegible*]. B.M. Add. MS. 17136.
1485. John Payne, p. p., to Master Henry Langley and Katharine. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 30.
1507. Robert Felmyngham, p. p., to John Bery and Margery (*translation*). dat. Norwich. Kirkpatrick, *Hist. Rel. Orders, Norwich*, p. 37.

C. By local prior.

1478. Christopher Roughton, l. p. of Warwick, to [*blank*]. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/60.
1489. Robert Jacsone, l. p. of Derby, to the Lady Clinton and Say and Rich[d]. Willoughby. *Lord Middleton's MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 121.
1520. Richard Godryk, l. p. of Lincoln, to Edith Hosey. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/68.

(2) Grey Friars.

A. By minister-general.

1407. Anthony de Pereto, m. g., to Ralph Nevyll, earl of Westmorland, and Joan. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 21/49.
1412. The same, to Sir John Pelham and dame Joan (admitting to prayers of Minoresses). dat. London. B.M. Add. MS. 29260.
1420. Thomas, vicar of m. g., to Thomas Compton and Joan. dat. Coventry. *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica*, p. 196.
1524. Francis de Angelis, m. g., to Sir John Kirkham and family. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

A 1. By Cismontane Observants.

1475. Angelus de Clavasio, vicar-general, to Luca dei Ugolini (Florentine). Dr. W. Seton, Univ. Coll., London.
1533. Francis Faber, deputy of commissary-general, to prior and convent of Durham. Durham Treasury, Misc. Charters, no. 6628.

A 2. By Friars Minor of the Holy Land.

1471. Silvester de la Noe, procurator, to Thomas Gee and Alice. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/55.
1473. Franciscus Placentinus, procurator (?), to Laurence Roche, priest. Rev. E. R. O. Bridgeman.

B. By provincial minister.

1407. John Zouch, pr. min., to William Lord Ferrers and Philippa. Port Adelaide Institute, S. Australia.
1432. Richard [Leek], pr. min., to Thomas Bate and his children (*translated*). dat. Norwich. Signed by Robert Carlton, ? local gardianus. Kirkpatrick, *Hist. Rel. Orders, Norwich*, p. 124.
145–. Thomas, pr. min., to John Baly and Katherine. B.M. Sloane MS. 1617, 76 *b* (fly-leaf at end).
1459. Thomas, pr. min., to Sir Edmund Houden and Agnes. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 19/60.

1462. Thomas, pr. min., to John Marchal and Isabel. dat. London. *Archaeologia*, xi, 85.
1467. Thomas, pr. min., to Roger at Wynde and Isabella. B.M. Sloane MS. 1617, 1 *b* (fly-leaf at beginning).
1469. Thomas, pr. min., to John Wormlay and Cecilia. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, new ser. iii, p. 146.
1470. William, pr. min., to Thomas Bucke and wife. B.M. Add. MS. 37678.
1475. William, pr. min., to Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Pembroke College, Box A, 23.

C. Issued by local head or *gardianus*.

1479. John, gardianus of F. M. of Stafford, to William Hocket and Agnes. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/61.
1479. R., gardianus of F. M. of Doncaster, to Roger Alyn and Margaret. P.R.O. Chanc. Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 13.
1479. R., gardianus of F. M. of Salop, to Thomas Mytton and Elizabeth. Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, ii, p. 462 *n*.
1479. James, gardianus of F. M. of Preston, to Laurence Horrokys and family. Cambr., Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. no. 227.
1479. John, gardianus of F. M. of Canterbury, to [*blank*]. Bodleian Charter, Kent 153.
1479. John, gardianus of F. M. of Nottingham, to Thomas Hede and Margery. *Lord Middleton's MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 117.
1479. The same to Richard Hede (*ibid.*), p. 118.
1479. William, gardianus of F. M. of Hartlepool, to Sir Robert Claxton and Agnes. Durham Treasury, MS. Misc. 6859*.
1479. John, gardianus of F. M. of Cambridge, to Andrew Doket, first president of Queens' Coll., Cambridge. Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 54.
1481. William, gardianus of F. M. of Bedford, to Nicholas Wallys and Joan. Dr. W. Seton, Univ. Coll., London.

Franciscan, of uncertain class.

. . . . . to Beatrice Ros. Bodleian MS. Rawl. C. 72 (fly-leaf at end).

Uncertain, probably Franciscan.

1461. William Lyale, presbyter, 'capellanus honeris [*sic*] sepulcri domini nostri Ihesu Christi in Jerusalem procurator ecclesiarum . . .' to Richard Erle, gen. Printed in *Arch. Journal*, xvii, p. 254.

Possibly Franciscan.

A fragment in Eton College Library, MS. 170. Dated 1372.

(3) Austin Friars.

A. Issued by prior-general or his vicar.

135–(?). By David, vic. of pr.-gen., to Helen Beaufo[rt]. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 4.

B. By provincial prior or chapter.

1279. By *diffinitores* and prov. chapter to Brian de Brompton and Emma. dat. Yarmouth. Kinlet Hall, Salop.
1369. By Geoffrey [Hardeby], p. p., to John Thornholme and Margaret. dat. Hull. Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

1383. By Thomas, p. p., to Giles Tyler and Christina. dat. Salop. Lambeth MS. 172, fly-leaf at beginning.
1404. By William, p. p., to William Makney and Joan. dat. Oxford. Countersigned Rob't'us Blak. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 28.
ante 1409. Thomas, p. p., to John Lowe and Margery (fragment only). Lord De L'Isle's MSS.
1427. By Thomas, p. p., to Robert Deyn and Isabel. dat. Tickhill. B.M. Add. MS. 20599.
1438. By William, p. p., to John Morton and Juliana. dat. York. Bodley MS. 131 = 1999.
1440. By William, p. p., to Robert Norys and Joan. dat. Cambridge. B.M. Sloane Ch. xxxii, 28.
1445. By Thomas, p. p., to Dame Katherine Howard. dat. Clare. Lord De L'Isle's MSS.
1475. By Thomas, p. p., to Thomas Stanton and Elizabeth. dat. London. B.M. Harl. MS. iii. C. 23.
1480. By Thomas, p. p., to Robert Cotwall and Margaret. dat. Salop. Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. Shrewsbury*, ii, 455 *n.*

C. By local priors and convents.

1481. Thomas, l. p. of Salop, to John Spenlove and Margaret. Shrewsbury Museum.
1482. Thomas, l. p. of Woodhouse, to John Cleberi and Alice. Shakenhurst, Salop.
1511. John Tanfield, l. p. of York, to the Lord Darcy (grant of perpet. trental). Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, dxcix.

(4) Carmelite Friars.

A. Issued by prior-general. *None.*

B. By provincial prior.

1382. Robert, p. p., to Giles Tyler and Christina. Lambeth MS. 172, fly-leaf at end.
1469 (??). Stephen, p. p., to Sir William . . . Bodl. Rawl. MS. C. 72, fly-leaf at beginning.
1512. Robert, p. p., to Sir Henry Willoughby and Dame Helen. *Lord Middleton's MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 127.

C. By local priors.

1396. William, l. p. of Scarborough, to Agnes Wyndhyll. Bodl. MS. 131, f. 150.
1416. William, l. p. of Oxford, to John Lincott and Agnes. B.M. Add. MS. 5837.

(4) Trinitarian Friars or Maturines.

Hounslow (Middx.).

1446. John Wodhulle, min^r., to James Gloys, chapl. B.M. Toph. Ch. 48.
1466. John, min^r., to Thomas Stoner, Esq., and Joan. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 29.
1479. William, min^r., to Master William Chaddeworth and Joan. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 14.
1508. Ralph Bekwith, min^r., to Henry Prince of Wales. B.M. Stowe MS. 617.

Moddenden (Kent).

1485. Richard, min^r., to Henry Langley and Katharine. (Recital of benefits.) P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 16.
1487. Richard, min^r., to [*blank*]. B.M. Stowe MS. 613.

Ingham (Norf.).

1506. Thomas, min^r., to William Fette and wife (recital of benefits). B.M. Stowe MS. 616.
1506. Thomas, min^r., to John Smyth and Agnes (recital of benefits). P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 19.

Thelisford (Warw.).

1486. Roger, min^r., to Richard Harrys. B.M. Harl. MS. 43. A. 12.

Knaresborough (Yorks.).

1465. Robert, min^r., to Henry Rychmond (afterwards King Henry VII). Westminster Abbey Muniments, 6658*.
1491. Robert Bolton, min^r., to John Dod and Matilda. *Arch. Journal*, xxiii, p. 145.

Walknoll (Newc.-on-Tyne).

1438. John, min^r., to Robert Claxton and Anne. Durham Treasury, Misc. Charters, no. 6859.
146–(?). [*blank*] to Sir John Langhorne (copy). Northumberland Co. Hist. Committee.
1470. To William Boynton and Alice. Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 32, f. 133^v.

III. ISSUED BY HOSPITALS

(1) Burton Lazars, Leicestershire.

1463. William, master, to parishioners of East and West Hagburne. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 27.
146–. William, kt., master, to William Danyel and Alys. B.M. Add. MS. 19864.
1473/4. Bro. William, master, to Robert Bostokke, Joan, and family. Leicester Corporation Archives, Box G, no. 369.[1]
1475. Bro. Wm. Sutton, kt., master, to William Baughton. Bodl. Charters, Leic. a. 1. 4.
1481. Bro. Wm. Sutton, kt., master, to John Dod and Matilda. *Arch. Journal*, xxiv, 265.
1486. Bro. Geo. Sutton, kt, master, general indulgence. *The Ancestor*, vol. vi, p. 45, no. cci.
1486. Bro. George, master, to [*blank*]. B.M. MS. Woll 8. 13.
1487. Bro. George, master, to John Lane and Joan. Bodl. MS. Top. gen. c. 23, f. 22.
1492. Bro. George Sutton, master, to Edward Knyvate and Elizabeth his daughter. B.M. Harl. MS. 43. A. 13.
1497. Sir George Sutton, kt., to Margaret Bowis. Library of the late Sir William Osler.
1505. Thomas Norton, kt., master, to Edward White. *Lord Middleton's MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 125.
1507. Thomas Norton, master, to [*blank*]. B.M. Add. MS. 37362.
1512. Thomas Norton, kt., master, to Elizabeth Vachell. B.M. Stowe MS. 619.
1513. Thomas Norton, kt., master, to Sir Simon Morell. B.M. Stowe MS. 620.

(2) By Chamberlains, Wardens, and Proctor of the Hospital of Holy Trinity and St. Thomas the Martyr, Rome.

1389. To John Budde and Alice his wife, Philip and Joan, his parents. B.M. Add. MS. 58271.
1447. To John Pellam, sen., kt., and dame Joan. B.M. Add. MS. 29263.
1448. To William Cecyl, Margaret his wife, and Robert Mallowe. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/54.
1449. To John Wheler, Elizabeth his wife, and John his son. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 7.
1459. To John Pelham, kt., and Joan. B.M. Add. MS. 29264.

[1] See Bateson, *Records of Borough of Leicester*, ii, 386.

1459. To Thomas Jeffre and Joan. B.M. Stowe MS. 609.
1459. To William Hozi and Joan. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 9.
1461. To William Kymond and Elizabeth. *Arch. Journal*, xvii, p. 252.
1474. To Thomas Walton, Alice, and children. *The Ancestor*, vi, p. 45, no. cc.
1475. To Peter Claughton and wife. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 19/62.
1475. To Henry Langley and Katharine. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 11.
1476. To William Pelham and Katherine. B.M. Add. MS. 29265.
1486. To John Reskenner. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 19/64.

(3) Walsoken (Norf.).

By wardens of the chapel and hospital of the Holy Trinity.

1465. To John Yngland and Agnes. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 21/49.
1466. [*Illegible.*] P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/54.
1468. By Thomas Jakson, capellanus et custos, to Ralph More and Isabella. B.M. Add. MS. 44277.
1470. By Thomas Jakson, master, and brethren to William Bewschen and Alice. P.R.O. Ancient Deeds, C. 5225.
1496. By Edward Hanyter, magister et custos, to George Catesby and Elizabeth. B.M. Cott. MS. xxi. 42.
1505. By Thomas Honyter, master or warden, to Mr. John Willoughby and Anne (printed). *Lord Middleton's MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 125.

(4)

1318. Prior and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hosp., Gloucester, to John de Thormerton. *Archaeologia*, xiv, p. 267.
1447. John Gotheworth, master of 'Knollesalmeshous', Pontefract, to Richard earl of Salisbury and Alice. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 18/23.

IV. ISSUED BY COLLEGES

All Souls College, Oxford.

1465. William Poteman, warden, and college, to John Birkhede. Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, ii, 267.
1536. Robert Woodward, warden, and college, to abbess and convent of Syon. *Ibid.*, ii, 268 (a further list of eight beneficiaries mentioned).

V. ISSUED BY GILDS

(1) Gild of St. Mary-in-the-Sea (Newton, near Ely, Cambs.).

1408. By Thomas Blowyk, magister, to Margaret Heryng and John her son. B.M. Stowe MS. 604.
1497. By William Doughty, LL.B., magister, prepositus sive custos, to Thomas Smyth and Isabella. B.M. Add. MS. 15675.
1502. By William Thornburgh, LL.D., magister, prepositus sive custos, to Anne Kaye. B.M. Add. MS. 15676.
1505. By William Thornburgh, minister sive custos, to Thomas Barowe. B.M. Add. MS. 15677.
1503. By William Thornburgh, master, to John Wanley and Agnes. P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Eccl. Docs. 6/65.

1510. By William Thornburgh, master, to Dame Katherine Langley. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 20.

1510. By William Thornburgh, master, to Sir Gylpin Calthorp and Dame Joan. P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 13, File 6, no. 18.

(2) Gild of St. Mary in the Church of St. Botolph, Boston.

1507. Admission of Thomas Cole and Margaret (printed). P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 18.

15—. Admission of Katherine Langley (printed). P.R.O. Chancery Misc., Bdle. 15, File 6, no. 31.

15—. Admission of [*blank*] (printed by R. Pynson). Westminster Abbey Muniments, 6655.

1518. Admission of John Pickering, clerk (printed by R. Pynson). Westminster Abbey Muniments, 6656.

1519. Admission of Thomas Willoughby, Esq., and Brigitt (printed by R. Pynson). *Lord Middleton's MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 133.

1521. Admission of Sir John Radcliff and Margaret (printed by R. Pynson). Bernard Quaritch, London.

1531. Admission of William Richardson and Margaret (printed by R. Fakes). Downside Abbey, Bath.

Note.—In the compilation of the foregoing list, I have taken account, I believe, of all letters of which I had any knowledge up to the date of publication. It consequently includes many more than were known to me when I read the paper, and more than I have been able to take account of in the text. There can be no doubt, however, that many more remain to be recorded and classified.—W. G. C. M.

Discussion

Mr. C. L. Kingsford described a letter of fraternity from the muniments of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, by whose permission it was exhibited. It had been used as the cover of an account-book and was in consequence somewhat damaged. It was issued by the provincial prior of the Austin Friars 'generose femine Katerine Howard' and was dated 'in conventu nostro Clare in festo sa . . . xlv°.' The date must have been 1445. The letter was in the usual form, but the prettily illuminated border suggested that it had been specially written for Katherine Howard. Mr. Kingsford had found a fragment of another letter on the tag of a deed. This was issued by 'Frater Thomas, prior provincialis Ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum sancti Augustini provincie Anglie' to John and Margery Lowe. The deed to which it was attached was dated 26 Sept. 1409, being a charter of John Lowe and Margery his wife relating to lands at La Lowe in Worcestershire. This letter was also in common form. The use which had been made of it indicated that it was regarded as a thing of small value.

Miss Graham called attention to the circumstances under which letters of fraternity were granted to individuals, and told the story of Henry de Bluntesdon and the monks of Worcester. She referred to the Mortuary Rolls, sent round from one monastery to another, which sometimes described the special privileges of a benefactor in greater detail than the letters of fraternity, e.g. in the case of Bertrand de Baux, founder of the Cistercian monastery of Selvacane, Bouches du Rhône, who died in 1181. His mortuary roll was printed by Monsieur Leopold Delisle in *Rouleaux des Morts*, and had two hundred and twenty-nine entries. His anniversary was observed by the Cistercian general chapter as well as at Selvacane and other monasteries. In some of the foreign letters of fraternity it was specified that the abbot of another monastery should have the abbot's seat in the choir, and might preside in the

chapter and in the refectory, whether the abbot of the house was at home or not. A letter of this description was implied by Jocelin of Brakelond when he told how the abbot of Cluny came to Bury St. Edmunds and was received in such wise as he ought, but Abbot Samson would not give place either in chapter or in the procession on Sunday, but insisted on sitting and standing in the middle between the abbot of Cluny and the abbot of Chertsey. A remarkable reliquary was given by the monastery of St. Sernin at Toulouse to the monastery of Grandmont near Limoges, when they entered into fraternity in 1226. If it was usual to exchange gifts of this nature when monasteries entered into confraternity, the custom might account for the existence in the treasury of some monasteries of work from a distant part of the country or from a foreign land. The letter of fraternity granted to Lacock by the Cistercian general chapter of Cîteaux had the seal of the abbot of Cîteaux. The general chapter had no seal of its own until about 1390.

Dr. A. G. Little remarked that the Friars preachers began to admit seculars to the spiritual benefits of their Order very early. In P. R. O. (Anc. Correspondence) was a letter of fraternity (fragmentary) issued by Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic, to Henry III (*c.* 1230)—the earliest granted to an English king by a Mendicant Order; the latest was perhaps that granted by the Trinitarian Friars to Prince Henry (Henry VIII) in 1508, in the British Museum. John of Parma, general minister 1247–57, was, according to Salimbene the first to adopt the custom in the Franciscan Order. Salimbene gave a specimen of one of his letters of fraternity. Another was extant and corresponded in form exactly with that given by Salimbene. Some of the expressions used in those letters persisted and frequently recurred in Franciscan letters of fraternity, e. g. the phrase 'clementia Salvatoris'.

When did provincial ministers and priors and provincial chapters begin to issue these letters? The earliest known to him was that of the English provincial chapter of the Austin Friars in 1279.

When did local priors and guardians begin to issue them? Large numbers issued by these local authorities in the fifteenth century were extant—especially in the latter part of the century. They were generally drawn up in regular form with blanks left for the names to be filled in. They were used as a source of income, and as the numbers increased the value diminished. 'Paid for a letter of fraternity to a Friar Preacher of Oxford 12^{d}' was an entry in some sixteenth-century accounts; of the two original letters exhibited by Dr. W. Seton—both Franciscan—one was granted by the warden of Bedford in 1481: the names of the grantees being written in the same hand as the document and not filled in afterwards. The other was a grant by Angelus de Clavasio, vicar-general of the Cismontane Observants, 1475, an elaborate document with a fine seal and the signature of Angelus; but it was evidently a set form: the names were filled in in another hand, and though several beneficiaries were mentioned in the first line the text of the document assumed that there was only one.

The President was specially interested in the circumstances of issue. The letters fell into three or four categories, one of which was purely complimentary, and Henry VI had a passion for collecting them. Others were marks of gratitude; and letters of fraternity might occasionally have served to pass on a guest from one house to another. They were also issued in payment of debts and were marketable, the form being made out in advance to be filled in on occasion. A case had been quoted where such a certificate of fraternity had had one name erased and another inserted; as passports they would have ensured board and lodging, perhaps a welcome. The latest exhibited, that from Downside, printed by Fakes, was also the longest, the earliest being the shortest. On behalf of the Society he thanked the Prebendary for a valuable and interesting paper.

Prebendary Clark-Maxwell confessed that he was astonished by the number of letters of fraternity that had come to light; and wished to express his indebtedness to all those who had contributed to the evening's exhibition.

III.—*The Study and Classification of Medieval Mappae Mundi.* *By* Michael C. Andrews, *Esq., M.R.I.A.*

Read 12th March 1925

We all know what maps are. Most of us have occasion to use them frequently. Many of us, no doubt, have spent pleasant hours in our studies, performing, with their help, what have been called 'armchair travels'. But only a few have been led to inquire into the history of maps and mapmaking, and fewer still have interested themselves in that period of the history of cartography which is the subject of this paper—the medieval period.

Interesting as it may be, it is not proposed to consider here, at any length, the development of the modern map, but to examine a chapter—and a very long chapter—in the history of cartography which, although it lasted from the third or fourth century of the Christian era till the fourteenth or fifteenth—over one thousand years—yet did not in any way tend to progress or development, and, being closed, has left no mark upon the modern map. It will, however, be necessary to give a brief outline of this development in order that the position of medieval *mappae mundi* may be clearly understood.

We know from various references in the works of the ancients that maps were in use from very early times, but of these maps, which were probably only of a local type, we have little definite knowledge. The earliest remaining example is a small circular map of late Babylonian origin, which represents in an elementary manner the Mesopotamian district. Although dating from about 500 B.C. it is thought to be based upon geographical ideas of a still earlier period.[1]

No references survive which would indicate the existence of maps of Roman construction until a comparatively late period. Indeed it has been said that the Republic conquered the world without maps, but that the Empire governed it by using them.[2] The result of an extensive survey of the provinces carried out by Agrippa in the reign of Augustus was displayed in the public porticoes of Rome in the form of a large world map. Like so many other Roman

[1] *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets etc. in the British Museum*, vol. xxii, pl. xlviii, London, 1906.

[2] M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 13.

works, maps were produced by the State for public rather than for private use; indeed Suetonius has recorded that under Domitian it was a grave offence for a private person to have a map of the world in his possession.[1] Of their contents and extent we have little knowledge, but it may be inferred from the Roman genius that their maps were of a practically useful rather than of a speculatively scientific character. The unique example yet remaining, in a thirteenth-century copy, which is known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* after its discoverer, or as the World Map of Castorius after its supposed author, is certainly of an eminently practical nature.[2] But as its sole object was to indicate the road system of the Empire, it is of such a peculiar character that it can hardly be accepted as an example of the best cartographical work of the Romans.

The Greeks at an early period directed their knowledge of astronomy and geometry to the measurement of the earth, which science was eventually systematized and applied in detail by the great Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy. The work of Ptolemy has, without doubt, preserved for us all that was known of geography in the second century of our era, but the maps which illustrate his *Geography* are of much later date. Some copies were preserved in the Eastern Empire, translations of which were known to the Arabic geographers, but the earliest manuscript copies now existing date only from the latter half of the thirteenth century. It was not until Ptolemy's work was translated into Latin, in the early part of the fifteenth century, by Jacobus Angelus, and first printed in 1478, that it began to exercise that dominating influence upon the geographical ideas of the learned which continued until the age of Mercator and Ortelius. So strong was this supremacy, and so hard was it to eradicate, that Ptolemaic errors are to be found in maps even so late as the eighteenth century. That the original work of Ptolemy was furnished with maps based upon the earlier productions of the Tyrian School is hardly open to the doubt that has been cast upon it. That the maps as we now know them in manuscripts, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, and in the numerous printed editions, represent those originals with any degree of accuracy is more doubtful. The preservation of these maps is ascribed to a certain Agathodemon, who on very insufficient evidence has been identified with an Alexandrian of that name who flourished in the sixth century. The present form of the twenty-seven ancient maps is, however, due to Dominus Nicolaus Germanus, who about 1466 redrew them on a trapezoidal instead of on the earlier cylindrical projection. Soon after, it became the fashion, while preserving the

[1] Suetonius, *XII Caesares—T. Flavius Domitianus.*

[2] Konrad Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius*, Ravensburg, 1888, and *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart, 1916.

ancient forms, to introduce modernized maps in the work of Ptolemy, many of the editions thus occupying a position analogous to our modern atlases.

The Ptolemaic maps are of great interest, but, notwithstanding the labours of such students as Father Josef Fischer,[1] Dr. Schütte,[2] and Dr. P. Dinse,[3] much remains to be done before they are completely intelligible. It must suffice for our present purpose to point out that they attempted to set out the known world upon scientific or astronomical principles, according to latitudes and longitudes, and that they failed to achieve complete success, not on account of a faulty method, but from a lack of sufficiently accurate data.

But another and completely different method of cartographical representation must be noticed. In the thirteenth century, or perhaps even earlier, mariners' written sailing directions were being supplemented by drawn charts. These marine maps, which are sometimes known as compass charts or loxodromic maps, but are more properly called portolan charts, were produced originally by Italian and Catalan cartographers for the use of sailors; but many of the splendid examples now known have been preserved because they were especially made for kings, princes, or patrons of the arts, and, being kept in libraries, were not subject to the deterioration and loss to which charts in use on board ship were exposed.

These charts were of a peculiarly practical character, uninfluenced by Ptolemaic or other scientific ideas. Being essentially sailing charts, they naturally were concerned almost entirely with coastal forms, with headlands and river mouths, with the adjacent islands, and with seaports. The interior of the countries shown is usually left nearly blank, except for often beautifully-executed shields, or banners, emblazoned with appropriate arms or devices. Of their origin little is known. Nordenskiöld[4] believed that what he termed the 'normal portolan' was constructed in the latter half of the thirteenth century from numerous coast sketches. Theobald Fischer[5] and Fiorini[6] would put back their first appearance to the eleventh century, and suggest a

[1] Josef Fischer, *Verhandlungen d. XVIII. Deutschen Geographentages*, 1912; *Ptolemäus und Agathodaemon*, supplement to Hans von Mžik's translation of Muhammad ibn Mūsā's adaptation of Ptolemy, Vienna, 1916; *Ptolemäus als Kartograph*, in K. Cebrian's *Geschichte der Kartographie*, Gotha, 1923.

[2] Gudmund Schütte, *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe*, Copenhagen, 1917.

[3] P. Dinse, 'Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäus-Karten und ihre Entwicklung im Zeitalter der Renaissance,' *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxx, 1913; 'Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäus-Karten und die Agathodämonfrage,' *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1913.

[4] A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897.

[5] Theobald Fischer, *Sammlung mittelalterlicher Welt- und Seekarten italienischen Ursprungs und aus italienischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, Venice, Ongania, 1886.

[6] Matteo Fiorini, *Le proiezioni delle carte geografiche*, Bologna, 1881.

Byzantine influence; while Dr. Stevenson[1] finds in them not only the elements of the compass charts, but those of the ancient sailing directions or *periploi* and of their medieval analogues the *portolani*.

An interesting record has been preserved of the crusade of Louis IX, which states that when, after leaving Aigues Mortes in 1270, the expedition was overtaken by a storm, the pilots brought *charts* to the king to show him their position.[2] Raymond Lull, writing in 1286, mentions charts used in navigation.[3] The earliest portolan charts now preserved are not, however, older than the last years of the thirteenth century or the first years of the fourteenth. Even at this date, the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas are drawn with that surprising accuracy which is typical of the whole group for the three centuries during which they were produced. Outside the Straits of Gibraltar, the western seaboard of Europe, the north-western coasts of Africa, and the Atlantic islands are often included, but with less accuracy and with less fixity of form, indicating clearly that these regions had not been mapped for so long a period as the Mediterranean basin. After the great discoveries of the fifteenth century the marine chart was extended in scope by the inclusion of the whole of Africa, with parts of the two Americas and eastern Asia, thus approaching more nearly to the character of a true world map.

These portolan charts were constructed by means of bearings taken from prominent physical features, and by estimated sailing distances. They were produced for practical purposes by methods which were practical but quite unscientific. The nautical cartographer had in fact stumbled upon an insoluble problem when he attempted to depict a portion of the sphere on a plane surface, preserving at the same time a correct outline and true compass bearings. That the distortion was small enough not to interfere to any great extent with practical utility was due to the restricted area dealt with and to its considerable distance from the pole; that it escaped notice was probably the result of observational methods which left much to be desired in accuracy. The use of nautical charts was, however, almost entirely confined to mariners; they were highly esteemed by pilots and navigators, but were either entirely ignored or looked upon with suspicion by those learned geographers who recognized only the authority of Ptolemy.

These, then, were two of the chief elements from which sprang the modern map—the *scientific* or Ptolemaic, and the *practical* or Marine.

In the sixteenth century, more especially in its latter half, the local mapping

[1] E. L. Stevenson, *Portolan Charts, their Origin and Characteristics*, Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1911.

[2] Guillaume de Nangis, *Historiens de France*, tome xx, pp. 444–5.

[3] Raymond Lull, 'Fenix de as maravillas del orbe', in *Arbor Scientiae*, Lyons, 1515, fol. cxci.

of kingdoms, provinces, and territories was in full swing: geographers, such as Mercator and Ortelius, and their followers, combined the work of topographers on the principles already accepted, and thus laid the foundation of the modern map, which is both *scientific* and *practical*.

To turn now to the subject-matter with which we are directly concerned, it should be noticed that the medieval map which, in the western world, filled the period between the decline of the scientific method and the rise of the practical, differed essentially from the productions of both. Medieval cartographers made no use of astronomical observations; latitudes and longitudes found no part in their scheme. Their maps were based upon pre-Ptolemaic and pre-scientific models, which had already become debased and which in their hands suffered still further distortion. Symmetry and authority were more esteemed than accuracy and truth. A taste for the fabulous produced extraordinary representations, which unintelligent copying still further confounded. Neither were these maps practical: they did not attempt to depict the world as it really was, but laid down a picture, often reduced to a mere symbol, of the geographical system described in some popular work which they were used to illustrate.

The history of ancient geography has occupied the attention of eminent scholars for many ages, but the study of medieval geography is of more recent date and of much slighter extent; while that section dealing with cartography has only received attention from a few students within the last seventy-five years, most writers on the history of geography having dealt with it very slightly or neglected it entirely. For this neglect there seem to be three reasons: medieval *mappae mundi* have no place in the development of the modern map, upon which they exercised no influence; they seldom represent the best contemporary geographical knowledge; the original material is not easily accessible, nor is there a sufficient number of accurate reproductions.

But if medieval *mappae mundi* had no influence on modern cartography, they are surely worthy of study as representatives—if often very debased representatives—of earlier world diagrams, now lost, of which we can hope to gain an idea only by the comparative examination of their derivatives. The study of medieval maps is not one which leads the mind of the student forward to modern methods and ideas, but is one which directs his inquiries backward towards the origins of cartographical representation. It is as much a subject for the antiquary and the historian as for the geographer. As Canon Bevan says in his essay upon that splendid example of medieval cartography, the Hereford map: 'Viewed in a strictly geographical aspect, as a representation of the world at the time of its execution, the map would not repay anyone for

the time spent in its study. Viewed, on the other hand, as a literary monument on which is registered the position of learning towards the close of the thirteenth century, the map will be found worthy of examination.'[1]

Again, if medieval *mappae mundi* do not reflect the best geographical knowledge of their age, yet they have undoubtedly preserved for us the materials upon which the ordinary student of the period formed his ideas about the world in which he lived. These maps are to be found not in special geographical treatises, which were studied only by the few, but generally appear as illustrations in some of the more popular works of the middle ages. They are to be found in historical and in encyclopaedic works; in philosophical and semi-philosophical treatises; in chronicles, and to a lesser degree in theological disquisitions. Many of these works were copied extensively and read constantly by the medieval student, and, as graphic representations are generally more impressive than written descriptions, his geographical and cosmographical ideas must have been materially influenced by the maps and diagrams thus brought before his eyes, even should those maps and diagrams illustrate a knowledge less true and less accurate than that to be found in the more uncommon geographical texts to which he might sometimes have access. The strongest claim, therefore, for the study of medieval *mappae mundi* seems to be that from them we may hope to supplement our knowledge and correct our ideas of that category of medieval thought which was concerned with a subject at all times and in all circumstances of the highest importance to the human race—a knowledge of the world.

The greatest obstacle to the study of medieval maps is, however, the lack of a sufficient quantity of published facsimiles. Isolated examples had indeed been reproduced even as early as 1611, but they were few.[2] When in 1849 the Vicomte de Santarem[3] published the first volume of his work on medieval cosmography and cartography he enumerated only twenty-three medieval maps known by him to have been previously published, and of these only eight were complete, the remainder being merely fragments. In his great atlas, now excessively scarce, he published reproductions of 117 medieval *mappae mundi*, thus laying the foundation of their study. But though good work on a smaller scale was done about the same time by the Polish antiquary Joachim Lelewel,[4]

[1] W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, *Mediaeval Geography: an Essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi*, London and Hereford, 1873, p. 2.

[2] Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tome ii, 1611.

[3] Le Vicomte de Santarem, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie pendant le Moyen-Âge*, 3 vols., Paris, 1849, 1850, 1852, and Atlas published in separate sheets at various dates.

[4] Joachim Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Âge*, 4 vols., Breslau, 1852; *Épilogue*, Bruxelles, 1857; and Atlas, Breslau, 1851.

by D'Avezac,[1] and later by such students as Heinrich Wuttke[2] and Jomard,[3] nothing approaching Santarem's work in importance appeared until about thirty years ago, when Dr. Konrad Miller, of Stuttgart, published his six slim volumes on medieval *mappae mundi*, in which he deals with some 200 examples (with seventy reproductions), and which to-day are the standard work on the subject.[4] The addition of new material was considerable, but the value of Dr. Miller's work to the student is mainly due to his thorough examination of certain of the larger maps, and to his comparative study of some of the smaller and less known groups. His work in the latter direction was, however, greatly restricted by the relatively few examples of each type which were known to him.

A search for further examples soon made it evident that a rich and almost unexplored field was open to the student. The systematic examination of many manuscripts, in libraries both at home and on the Continent, has resulted in the accumulation of a collection of about 600 examples of medieval *mappae mundi*, ranging in date from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Although only a small proportion of these are of a large size or of elaborate execution, even the smaller, more elementary and symbolic designs are of considerable interest. It is to be hoped that at some future time it may be found possible to publish these examples in facsimile, in order to provide material for a more extended and more systematic study of the subject.

But no collection, however extensive, can yield its full value if each example is regarded as a separate individual. We must study our material comparatively; we must group our examples and attempt to classify them; and although, in this case, classification will not disclose any constant improvement, either in contents or in execution, but rather debasement, deterioration, and a growing tendency towards symbolic and diagrammatic treatment, yet we may hope by its means to ascertain the relationships existing between the various groups, and even to throw some light upon the probable derivation of the groups themselves from common ancestors.

Santarem frankly admitted that he could not classify medieval *mappae mundi* in a satisfactory manner, and fell back upon a chronological arrangement which he hoped would illustrate the historical development of carto-

[1] D'Avezac. Many studies and notices, a bibliography of which, amounting to ninety-seven items, is to be found in his *Le Ravennate et son exposé cosmographique*, published after his death by Jean Gravier, Rouen, 1888.

[2] Heinrich Wuttke, 'Ueber Erdkunde und Karten des Mittelalters,' in *Serapeum*, nos. 15, 16, 17, and 18, Leipzig, 1853.

[3] E. F. Jomard, *Les monuments de la géographie; ou, recueil d'anciennes cartes européennes et orientales*, Paris [1842-62].

[4] Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi, die ältesten Weltkarten*, 6 vols., Stuttgart, 1895, 1896, 1898.

graphy. His failure appears to be due to the insufficiency of his material, and to his idea that these maps should be classified according to schools of geographical thought, a method which proved impracticable on account of the difficulty of determining their predominant geographical characteristics. For him the theological element was the only one to be clearly traced, and as, according to his view, it exercised its influence on all medieval maps, it was rendered useless as a means of classification. Lelewel and after him Philippi[1] seem to lean towards a classification by means of external form, although they attempted nothing definite in this direction. Maps, however, which are circular or square, oblong or oval, may belong not only to the same family but to the same species, and even to the same variety of that species; while the contents of those which agree in taking the most common circular form often differ fundamentally both in extent and arrangement. Miller, although examining very carefully and with great skill the relationships existing between the individuals in some of the groups with which he deals, has not attempted to lay down any general classification for these groups.

Unfortunately, in our present state of knowledge concerning medieval cartography, any classification must necessarily be provisional and tentative; but the most satisfactory method appears to be one based upon the internal form and contents, and it is upon this principle that I have attempted to construct a scheme. In dealing with materials of the present nature, it is hardly to be expected that any grouping could have a scientific accuracy, or that it could comply strictly with the essentials of systematic classification. For example, it will be noticed that, although the classification into families, divisions, and genera is based upon general considerations of internal form and contents, yet the various species of maps to be found in each are arranged according to the manuscripts in which they are commonly to be found. It may be urged with some truth that this is a departure from the strict principle of classification; but such departure will be seen to be more apparent than real when it is realized how closely, in general, the maps illustrating the manuscripts of any author conform to one type. It is, however, hoped that the scheme here indicated in outline may approach nearly enough to the ideal to be of some assistance to a comparative study of the somewhat confused mass of material comprised under the term medieval *mappae mundi*.

In the numerous examples of medieval world representations now brought to light we find clear evidence of two very different conceptions of our earth. One is due to the early and simple idea of a small and inhabited flat disc; the other to the later and more scientific realization of a large sphere, of which only

[1] F. Philippi, *Zur Reconstruction der Weltkarte des Agrippa*, Marburg, 1880.

a *b*

Fig. 1. Oecumenical-Tripartite. *a*. T–O: *b*. □–V. Isidore, *Etymologium*: Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, Cod. 1019. 13th cent.

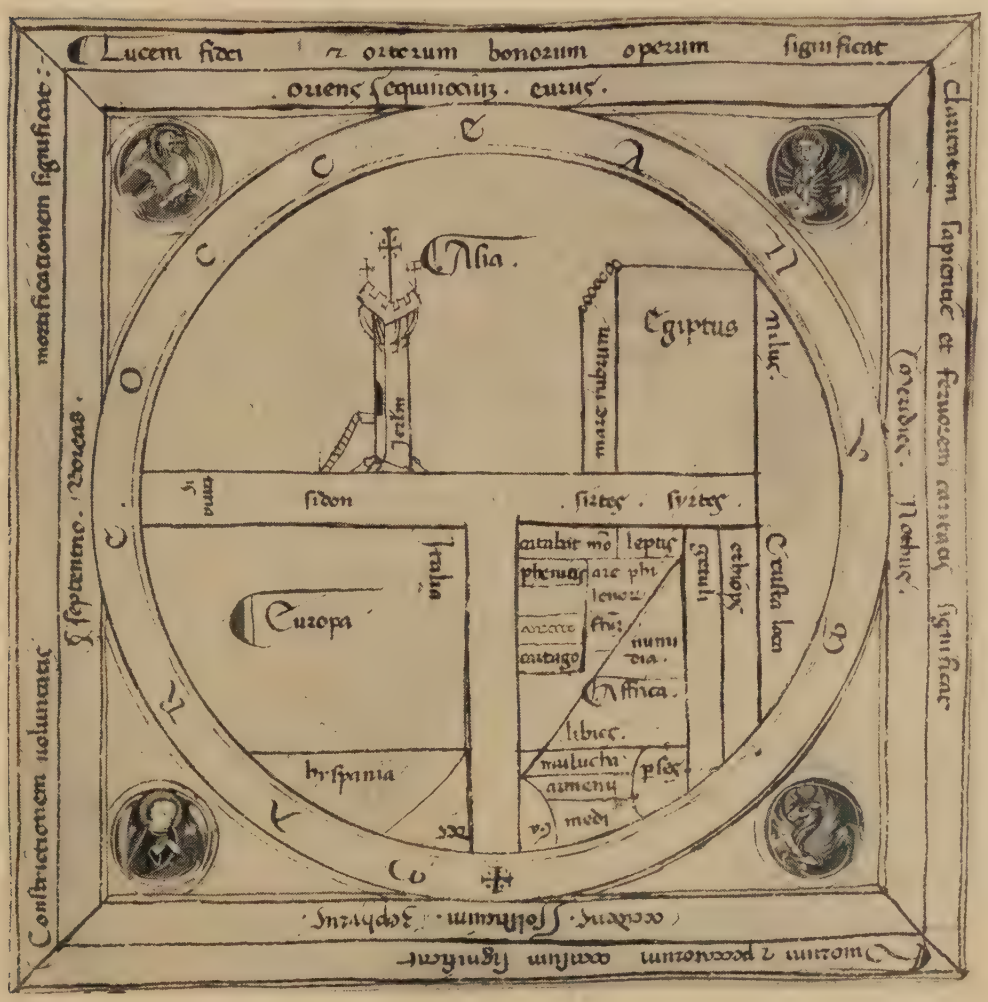


Fig. 2. Oecumenical-Tripartite T–O.
Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*: Venezia, Bibl. di San Marco, Fond. Ant. Lat. 432. 14th cent.

a small part was known. Medieval *mappae mundi* may, therefore, be divided into two great families. First, those which seek to represent only the habitable world—the *Oikoumene* of the Greeks, the *Terra Habitabilis* of the Romans. This family may be called *Oecumenical.* The second family embraces those maps which represent the whole hemisphere and may be called *Hemispherical.*

The design of the OECUMENICAL FAMILY is based upon the elementary idea of a plane earth extending round the observer in all directions, the result being a view of the known world such as might be obtained from a high mountain top. It is probably due to an extension to the whole world of the simple methods of local cartography common to the earliest inquiries of most ancient peoples, before the development of the mathematical and astronomical sciences. Avoiding as it did the awkward controversial question of the antipodean races of the human kind, and lending itself readily to the exposition of certain biblical traditions such as 'the circuit of the world', and to the later ecclesiastical theory which placed Jerusalem at its centre, it received the approval of the early Fathers of the Church, and was naturally and freely adopted by medieval monastic scribes, even long after the sphericity of the earth had been generally accepted. The family may be grouped into two divisions. The first, containing those maps which indicate the widely accepted partition of the habitable world into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa, by the three sons of Noah, is called the *Tripartite* division; other maps which do not indicate any continental boundaries are grouped under a second *Simple* or *Non-Tripartite* division.

The TRIPARTITE DIVISION includes maps which indicate the boundaries of the three continents of the ancient world in different ways.

Genus (1). The most generally adopted partition is by means of a T within an O, maps so constructed being named T–O maps, or by some continental writers O–T maps (indicating the words *Orbis Terrarum*) or wheel maps (from the likeness to a wheel-rim and its spokes). In these maps the outer circle represents the 'River of Ocean', the lower limb of the T the Mediterranean Sea dividing Europe from Africa, and the upper or cross stroke the rivers Tanais and Nilus, dividing respectively Europe and Africa from Asia, which thus occupied half the circle. The numerous maps of this type, although all conforming to the general design of the genus, differ in minor details, and may be classified according to various species, such as those commonly to be found in the *Etymologium* of Isidore of Seville, which usually indicate an elementary continental division only (pl. VIII, fig. 1, *a*), or at most record the patrimony of Shem, Ham, and Japheth; in the *Bellum Jugurthinum* of Sallust, which pay particular attention to Africa as described in the text (pl. VIII, fig. 2); in the cosmographical poem of Gauthier of Metz and in other works.

Genus (2). The division of the habitable world may be effected by radii springing from the centre of the circle in the form of a Y (pl. IX, fig. 1). This type is not common.

Genus (3). The world may be given a rectangular form with a continental division in the form of a V as in some manuscripts of Isidore's *Etymologium* (pl. VIII, fig. 1, *b*).

The SIMPLE DIVISION comprises many of the earliest, most elaborate, and largest cartographical productions of the middle ages, such as the seventh-century example of Albi; the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon or Cotton Map; the great 'wall' maps of Hereford and Ebstorf, and their smaller 'book' relations; the maps to be found in the *Polychronicon* of Ranulphus Higden of Chester and in the works of Matthew Paris. None of these indicates the continental boundaries in any arbitrary way, but all follow more or less the configuration of the actual geographical features. It should, however, be noticed that in some of them the tripartite division, although not formally indicated, has evidently exercised a strong influence upon the design. As it is not possible to reproduce here any large map unless on so reduced a scale as to be illegible, the example selected to illustrate this division is a small and elementary but interesting design, showing more than common knowledge of the East (pl. IX, fig. 2). Any classification of this division into genera appears at present to be premature, but the specific differences of the various groups are clear.

The second or HEMISPHERICAL FAMILY includes those *mappae mundi* which depict the whole hemisphere, including not only the known habitable region in the north, but also the parts to the south of the equator. These regions were designated as uninhabitable, if the map-maker wished to conform with the tenets of the medieval Church, or were represented as the dwelling-place of our *Antikoi* or *Antipodes* if he had a mind more free from dogma. Some of these maps, in addition, indicate in a vague manner the possibility of continents in the other hemisphere, but no very intelligible method of representation seems to have been devised. Perhaps no map-designer was sufficiently convinced of their existence, or bold enough to defy tradition by making any more definite reference to lands which could not, according to the theologians, have been peopled by the sons of Adam. Be this as it may, the medieval maps of the hemispherical family are derived from a pre-Christian science, which recognized the sphericity of the earth. They are a debased product of the mathematical geography of former ages. The great popularity of the works of Macrobius and Martianus Capella, by whose writings this essentially anti-biblical picture of the world was introduced to students of the ninth century, is sufficient to account

Fig. 1. Oecumenical-Tripartite Y–O
Macrobius, *Com. in Somnium Scipionis*
Paris, Bibl. nat. Cod. Lat. N.A. 16679. 11th cent.

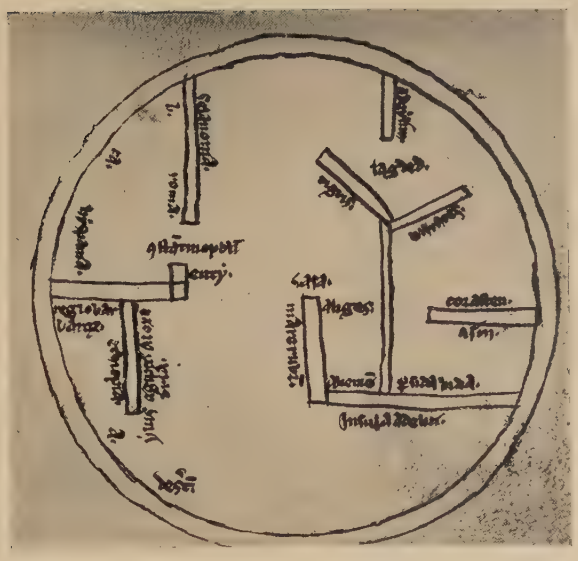


Fig. 2. Oecumenical-Simple
Commentary on Aristotle *De prop. elementorum*
Oxford Bodl. Lib. MS. Auct. F.S. 28. 13th cent.

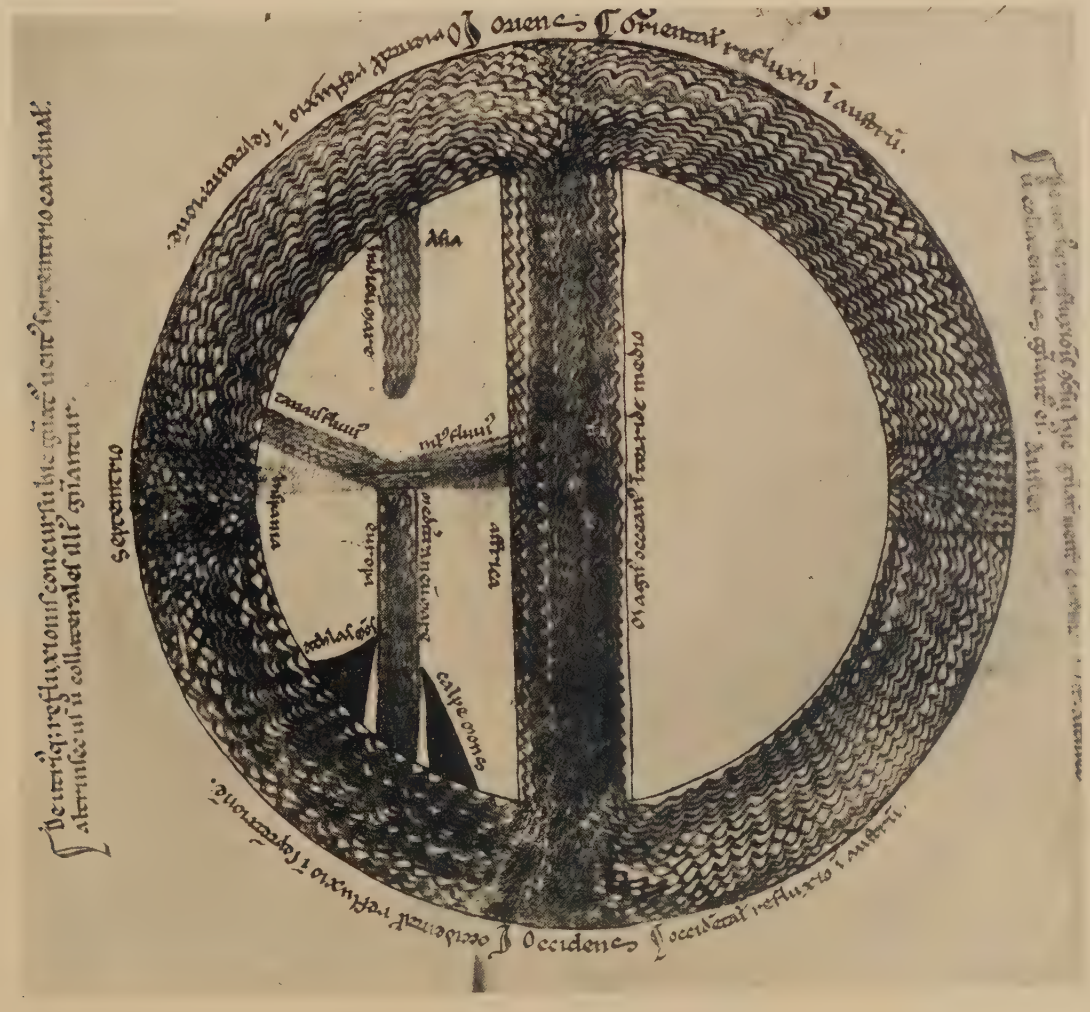


Fig. 3. Hemispherical-Oceanic-Simple
William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*. Montpellier, Bibl. de l'Université, Cod. H. 145. 13th cent.

Fig. 1. Hemispherical-Nonoceanic-Climate
Petrus Alphonsus, *Dial. contra Judeos.* Oxford Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 356. 15th cent.

Fig. 2. Hemispherical-Oceanic-Zone
Macrobius, *Com. in Somnium Scipionis.* B.M. Harl. MS. 2772. 9th cent.

for the somewhat surprising fact that maps of this type are to be found as frequently as those of the more orthodox oecumenical design.

The majority of medieval world maps of the hemispherical type are constructed in accordance with what is known as the 'oceanic theory', attributed to Krates of Mallos, which recognized two oceanic streams. The 'true' ocean encircled the sphere equatorially, while the popularly accepted ocean which passed through the poles was regarded as subsidiary. These two streams, flowing at right angles to one another, divided the world into four equal land masses. Some groups, however, give no indication of any equatorial ocean nor in consequence of any quadripartite division.

The Family may, therefore, be divided into two main branches: the OCEANIC or QUADRIPARTITE DIVISION and the NON-OCEANIC or NON-QUADRIPARTITE DIVISION. The maps belonging to the first division, which, to judge by the numerous examples remaining to us, was by far the most popular in medieval times, may be further classified as *Simple* and *Zone*.

(1) The *Simple Genus* includes maps such as those in the *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of St. Omer and some in the works of William of Conches, which depict the whole hemisphere bisected by the equatorial ocean, but do not indicate any division by zones. The northern habitable parts in these maps are often divided in tripartite fashion, as in the example selected (pl. IX, fig. 3), but sometimes have no formal divisions.

(2) In the *Zone Genus* the hemisphere is divided into five zones; the central or torrid with its equatorial ocean, the two temperate with geographical features in the northern only, and the two frigid zones at the poles, uninhabitable on account of cold. Examples of various species are to be found mainly in the *Commentarius in Somnium Scipionis* of Macrobius, the *Philosophia* and *Dragmaticon* of William of Conches, and less frequently in other works. In the Macrobian maps, the Kratesian scheme is usually more fully illustrated by the inclusion of inscriptions dealing with the oceanic tides, which, however, are omitted in the early example selected (pl. X, fig. 2). Nevertheless, this map still retains, on a somewhat exaggerated scale, the north and south polar bays, where the waters flowing in different directions met twice daily with a great shock, and in turning back gave rise to the tidal phenomena.

Two curious forms of pseudo-zone maps are to be found in the *De Natura Rerum* of Isidore of Seville; in one, the hemisphere is divided by arcs of circles, in the other, which is highly diagrammatic and based upon a complete misconception of mathematical geography, the five zones are arranged in pentagonal form round a central flat-earth circle.

The essential difference between maps of the zone type and those in

which the northern half of the hemisphere is divided into the seven climates of the Greek and Alexandrian geographers has not been sufficiently insisted upon.[1] Climate maps, however, have sufficiently well-marked characteristics and distinct origin to justify their classification, not only in a different genus, but in a different division from the maps just considered.

Although the southern boundary of the first climate does not always coincide with the equator, these maps do not, in general, show any equatorial ocean, nor, in consequence, do they indicate any quadripartite division of the globe.[2] They must, therefore, be relegated to our second NON-OCEANIC or NON-QUADRIPARTITE DIVISION.

Examples of hemispherical maps which do not conform to the oceanic theory are not nearly so numerous as those which adopt it; indeed, the existence of any other groups in this division, except the climate maps, is very questionable. In none of the zone maps, other than mere diagrams, yet brought to light, is the equatorial ocean omitted, and although in one example of a simple hemispherical map from the *Philosophia* of William of Conches no such ocean is drawn,[3] it is probable that the omission is due to a copyist's error, as in a dozen other examples of this particular variety the equatorial ocean is distinctly shown.

Climate maps are also derived from quite different sources than the zone maps. They are due to the influence of Arabic cosmographers and geographers who preserved the ancient Greek ideas about the world through those dark ages when they had been forgotten by western learning. Most Arabic maps are not only divided into climate bands, but are placed with the south uppermost; but no very early Latin examples are to be found, as this system was not generally known to students of western Europe until the medieval renaissance of the twelfth century, when Christian students, with the assistance of Spanish Moslems and Jews, translated many scientific treatises into Latin. No *mappae mundi* have been found in the works of Adelard of Bath, the earliest of these translators, nor in those of Gerard of Cremona, who was the most prolific; but examples, usually mere diagrams, are to be found in the twelfth- and thirteenth-

[1] Although K. Miller, *Mappaemundi*, vol. iii, has devoted a separate section (§ xv) to Climate Maps, yet he includes those to be found in Sacrobosco as no. 7 of Section xiv, Macrobius Maps; under which somewhat misleading title he groups zone maps of all types. In vol. ii of his *Dawn of Modern Geography*, 1901, pp. 573–4, Professor C. R. Beazley draws no clear distinction between climate and zone maps; neither does the Abbé Anthiaume, *Les Cartes géographiques . . . au moyen âge*, Paris, 1912, p. 24. It may also be noticed that although Miller gives eight reproductions in § xiv, ostensibly devoted to Macrobius maps, not one of these is from a *manuscript* of Macrobius, three being taken from late printed editions; neither is any one of the remaining five of true Macrobian character.

[2] One example only of a climate map with an equatorial ocean has been found in codex Cotton, Julius D. VII, fol. 46, in the British Museum. This interesting thirteenth-century map exhibits a strange mixture of Christian and Moslem geographical systems.

[3] Oxford: University College MS. VI, f. 419.

century manuscripts of the *Dialogus contra Judeos* of Petrus Alphonsus of Huesca (Rabbi Moisè Shephardi), and in the *Sphaera* of Sacrobosco (John of Holywood), while a more elaborate, but still later, map occurs in the work of Petrus Alliacus (Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly).

An interesting feature in the climate maps is the prominence sometimes given to the mythical world-centre *Arin*.[1] Adopted by the Arabic cosmographers from the Indian philosophers, this 'cupola of the world', which was placed on an island in the Indian Ocean, played an important role in their geographical systems. For through *Arin* passed the prime meridian of the Arabs; it was situated midway between China in the east and the Fortunate Islands in the west, and it had no longitude (pl. x, fig. 1).

Finally, it must be pointed out that some *mappae mundi*, notably the splendid series to be found in codices of the commentary on the Apocalypse by Saint Beatus of Liebana, while spreading the known habitable world over nearly the whole of their surface, yet indicate an austral continent. For, in addition to the three known parts of the world, a fourth part is shown to the south of the central ocean, which, while 'inhabited by the fabulous antipodes, is unknown to us on account of the intolerable heat of the sun'. These maps, therefore, cannot be properly assigned to either of our main families, but, partaking as they do of the characteristics of both, must be considered as occupying an intermediate position between the oecumenical and hemispherical types.

We have now examined the whole range of western medieval cartography so far as the space at our disposal permits, and so far as is possible with a limited number of examples. These examples have not been chosen on account of their individual interest, but, so far as limitations of size will allow, as representatives of the various branches of the classificatory scheme which has been briefly indicated.

Although this scheme covers fairly satisfactorily all the materials at present known, it is probable that, as further examples are discovered, it will need to be expanded and perhaps revised. I can only hope that in its present form it will not be found to be so inadequate, or so erroneous, as to prove entirely worthless as an aid to the comparative study of medieval *mappae mundi*.

[1] M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Paris, 1848, tome i, Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux, p. ccxxxix et seq., and *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du xi^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, Paris, 1849, p. 367 et seq.

CLASSIFICATION OF MEDIEVAL MAPPAE MUNDI

Family	*Division*	*Genus*	*Species*
(I) OECUMENICAL	(A) TRIPARTITE	(1) T–O	(*a*) Isidore (*b*) Sallust (*c*) Gauthier de Metz
		(2) Y–O	
		(3) □–V	Isidore
	(B) SIMPLE	—	(*a*) Early (*b*) Hereford-Ebstorf (*c*) Higden (*d*) Matthew Paris
INTERMEDIATE	—	—	Beatus
(II) HEMISPHERICAL	(A) OCEANIC	(1) Simple	(*a*) Lambertus of St. Omer (*b*) William of Conches
		(2) Zone	(*a*) Macrobius (*b*) William of Conches
	(B) NON-OCEANIC	Climate	(*a*) Petrus Alphonsus (*b*) Petrus Alliacus (*c*) Sacrobosco

DISCUSSION

Mr. HEAWOOD said he could only admire the industry and acumen which had enabled Mr. Andrews to increase the number of known *mappae mundi* from 200 to 600. He inquired whether the number of types increased in proportion, and whether fresh discoveries might still be looked for. Mr. Andrews appeared to use the term medieval in a somewhat restricted sense, as referring to quality rather than period. It was only fair to remember that there were other and better maps which might justly be credited to the middle ages. The eminently practical Portolani maps were medieval in their origin; then we had the famous Catalan map of 1375, which gave the results of Marco Polo's travels; the Claudius Clavus map of the early fifteenth century, which represented northern Europe with fair accuracy; whilst a Bodleian map of the thirteenth century was surprisingly correct with regard to England. Mr. Andrews doubted whether any existing maps truly represented those of Ptolemy, but Father Josef Fischer had shown reason to think they did. Pappus of Alexandria was said by Suidas to have followed Ptolemy, and was in turn followed by Moses of Chorene, so that, as the latter's descriptions tallied with the maps we knew, the succession seemed to be unbroken. The twenty-seven maps of Germanus were drawn before his time, and he merely altered the projection; moreover, Fischer regarded the versions with sixty-eight maps as still nearer the originals. He thought justice had hardly been done to the 'medieval' map-makers, whose sketches were only intended to be diagrammatic, and may have served their purpose sufficiently well: data such as sailors needed would have been wasted on literary circles. The so-called map of Columbus lately brought to light gave up-to-date information on one side and on the other a map which recalled the circular or oecumenical series of Mr. Andrews. He inquired whether the makers of the 'hemispherical' maps really considered they were showing only half of the earth's surface, and, if so, what were their ideas about the other half. It was interesting to note survivals from medieval maps in those of later date. In the seventeenth century some of Edrisi's Arabic names were still given for northern Asia, and Mercator's Greenland map gave as place-names the words of a folk-song that had been written round the coasts of an earlier map, and subsequently provided with latitudes and longitudes.

Mr. BRINDLEY said that in such an extensive range of maps there must be some of extreme complexity, difficult to classify. The hemispherical were the most complex, and he thought some cross-classification was inevitable. Further evidence as to genus and species was desirable before a system was decided on. Whether the southern world was hot or cold, it was placed south of the middle of Africa, and sometimes separated from it by another ocean: occasionally there was more than one line of land.

Prof. CALLENDER held that *mappae mundi* belonged rather to archaeology than to geography. The circumference and diameter of the globe had been calculated almost exactly by Eratosthenes; and the sphericity of the globe was known in ancient times. Could that knowledge have entirely disappeared? The elder Pliny spoke of misguided persons who considered the earth flat, and Pliny was in the hands of the Venerable Bede. St. Augustine's view, however, was diametrically opposite—*nulla ratione credendum est*; and Pope Zachary, in the eighth century, said that all who gave credence to the idea of a spherical earth should be excommunicated. Menaced with such anathemas, the vast majority of Christians in the middle ages conformed to the belief in a flat earth; and medieval maps crystallized that belief. The real antecedents of modern geography were, not the *mappae mundi*, but the sea-charts called Portolani, the earliest being about 1300, and the first with date being of 1311. Even a cursory inspection of a Portolano would reveal two things, the accuracy of the delineation and the presence of a multiplicity of criss-cross lines. These spider webs, which should perhaps be interpreted as prototypes of the compass-roses of modern charts, proved beyond dispute that the Portolani were based upon compass-work, and raised the further question: who was responsible for the compass, without which the perfect sea-charts of the middle ages could not have been produced? Dante's tutor, Brunetto Latini, heard Roger Bacon lecture at Oxford in 1258 on the magnetized needle 'which would indicate the star'; and realizing what a boon it would be to mariners, dismissed it with the cynical comment that such a superstitious body of men would never be induced to use it. The perfection of the Portolani, however, indicated that they must be at least a century older than the earliest dated example, and therefore the compass must be older still. It was, in fact, mentioned by Alexander Neckham (1180) as a necessary part of every sailor's equipment. There would, indeed, be weight in the argument that a century was not a long enough interval for the perfection, distribution, and employment of charting reached in 1311. The origin of the compass might be still more remote, and possibly the Romans were acquainted with it. There were static and kinetic elements in the Portolani: the first involved contentment with such useful knowledge as was available before instruments such as the theodolite were invented; the second betrayed discontent with anything short of perfection. The Portuguese reached India by sea and pushed on with the making of charts till they covered the globe. The publication of Ptolemy's maps gave them a basis on which to build up scientific charts; and the acceptance of Ptolemy ruled out all the work done by the makers of *mappae mundi*; but the latter, as a picture of the medieval mind, were necessary for a full appreciation of the age, just as maps were indispensable in modern history.

Mr. HINKS expressed his indebtedness to Mr. Andrews for much instruction in a subject he had hitherto regarded as outside his own province, which was limited to maps based on latitude and longitude. He had derived much pleasure both from the paper and the subsequent discussion.

The PRESIDENT said the revelations made in the paper produced in him a certain degree of melancholy, to think that the ingenuity, imagination, and resource of a thousand years should have been superseded without leaving any impress on the geography of the present day. Such a collapse had not occurred in the arts or in religion. The medieval map-makers had no sense of obligation to their predecessors, and ignored all previous knowledge; but texts survived while knowledge slept, and the idea of sphericity never entirely disappeared. The Portolani

were business maps, and the rest were fairy-tales: for instance, the place where the tides met came by degeneration to be represented by curls. Many details in the T maps were survivals imperfectly understood by copyists; and copies of Macrobius continued to be printed till the eighteenth century. Two examples, in the Morgan and Rylands Libraries, were produced within thirty or forty years, but differed fundamentally in their representation of the world: they belonged to an era of romance.

Mr. ANDREWS, in reply, expressed his appreciation of the privilege of bringing the subject before the Society. The paper was in an imperfect and condensed form, and he hoped to pursue the inquiry as Mr. Brindley had suggested, and examine various groups that had been barely mentioned. Any classification was difficult, but the one adopted was found to accommodate most of the examples known. He had not intended to cast doubts on the authenticity of the surviving versions of Ptolemy's geography.

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE illustrations are from full-sized photographs of the originals which are here reproduced for the first time.

Thanks are due to the authorities of the various libraries who have allowed these photographs to be taken.

IV.—*The Perforated Axe-hammers of Britain*

By Reginald A. Smith, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 14th May 1925.

A natural tendency to regard perforated axe-hammers as belonging to the Neolithic period, the Age of polished stone, is soon corrected by a study of the available evidence, which shows that most of the specimens found in Britain date from the Bronze Age, several having been discovered in association with that metal. If any reliance can be placed on the division of the Bronze Age into two parts, characterized respectively by inhumation and cremation, in that order,[1] then it is clear that axe-hammers cover practically the whole of the period, extending over some fifteen centuries. The lower limit is not at present fixed; but there are primitive examples that from their form and method of boring may well be assigned to the Late Stone Age, and there is reason to believe that at least one type was introduced during the period of transition to Bronze—that is, in the Copper or Aeneolithic period.

In 1903 Mr. Romilly Allen added a list of axe-hammers to his account of a small specimen found in Pembrokeshire (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th ser., iii, 224), and concluded that 'perforated stone axe-hammers are characteristic of the Bronze Age and not of the Stone Age, except in a few cases in Scotland'; but his British illustrations were meagre, and there are very few parallels among those figured from Denmark. Further, his explanation of the difference of date in the two series was far from adequate.

In an interesting paper on the battle-axe and its typology in the North,[2] Nils Åberg lays down two lines of evolution for what is generally known as the axe-hammer; but is more fortunate with one than the other, and rejects any derivation from a metal prototype. It is a reasonable hypothesis that the axe-hammer was evolved from the mace, which consisted of a circular or oval

[1] This is also the view taken in Denmark by Sophus Müller (*Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1916–17, pp. 176, 239), cremation appearing in his third stage (12th century B. C.) and extending in his fourth (11th century); and the rule holds in spite of a Yorkshire discovery of a cremation with a food-vessel below an inhumation with beaker (Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, pp. 119, 161) and Canon Greenwell's two beakers with burnt bones (*British Barrows*, fig. 120, p. 240). Beakers have also been found with cremations at Dilston and Ilderton, Northumberland (*Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd ser., ii, 142).

[2] *De Nordiska Stridsyxornas Typologi* (Stockholm, 1915), especially pp. 7–13, on the double-edged axes in Britain. A German translation (*Die Typologie der nordischen Streitäxte*) is published in the *Mannus-Bibliothek*, no. 17.

pebble bored in the centre, though at first stones with natural perforations would no doubt be hafted direct, or adapted for that purposes by pecking or drilling. His other suggestion, that an oval pebble grooved round the centre (rather like a dumb-bell) gave rise to a series found in Scotland and considered by him of primitive character, is less acceptable, as the axe-hammers in question appear to be among the latest of their kind, and are an exaggeration of types accounted for otherwise. Nor is it wise to deny any connexion between the copper axe of Norway (no doubt of central European origin) and a group of axe-hammers proved by grave-finds to belong to an early phase of our Bronze Age, and perhaps the first of their kind in this country. Apart from the assumption that the type with extremely concave sides is primitive (Evans, fig. 136 A), Dr. Åberg has some instructive remarks on British axe-hammers compared with those of the Scandinavian countries. He points out that only ours have, as a rule, the perforation in the middle (equidistant from butt and cutting-edge) and countersunk (both faces dished round the opening). These he considers primitive or at least archaistic features, but cannot decide on which side of the North Sea (if on either) the idea of the axe-hammer was evolved. British specimens preserved, perhaps longer than the Scandinavian, the hour-glass perforation, due to boring from both sides with a solid tool (stick with wet sand) instead of a hollow bone or metal cylinder which would produce a straight-sided perforation. With few exceptions, the British axe-hammers are inferior both in variety, quantity, and quality to those of Scandinavia, where the type dates, at the earliest, from the early Passage-grave (or Long-barrow) period; whereas some have been found with bronze in England, and further evidence in the following pages will show that few, if any, date from the Neolithic period in this country, though types not found with bronze may well belong to the Copper or Aeneolithic period, when the Beaker people invaded Britain.

The axe-hammer properly so called, with cutting-edge more or less sharp, a hammer-shaped butt, and perforation about the middle for hafting, is derived from the double-axe which is represented less frequently in Britain, but has a long history and goes back to about 3000 B.C. in the Mediterranean area. Mr. Gordon Childe[1] says 'the origin of the whole series of battle-axes should perhaps be sought *ultimately* in Mesopotamia, where socketed battle-axes were in use from the beginning of the third millennium, and *immediately* in the ochre-graves of the Kuban' (north of the Caucasus).

The question is narrowed down in the present paper to the British Isles, and even here it would be laborious, and perhaps unnecessary, to catalogue every specimen preserved in public or private collections. To obtain a clue to

[1] *Man*, May 1924, no. 51; cf. *Nature*, 24 May 1924, p. 761.

the sequence and chronology of the various types, it is first of all desirable to collect and classify the principal cases of association, where specimens have been found in burials of one kind or another with grave-furniture that helps towards a relative, if not an absolute, date for the type represented. Once the main principles are laid down, it should be possible to proceed with the classification of stray examples which certainly constitute the majority in this country. There was no slavish copying of continental types, and the axe-hammer is not least among those antiquities which illustrate the advance of civilization here on lines parallel to, but not identical with, those followed by our neighbours abroad.

Appreciation of style, comparison in detail, and areas of distribution all help to classify and date such antiquities as axe-hammers, which have no exact counterparts abroad; but the basis of any final arrangement must be associated finds, and the selection of test specimens may well begin with two grave-groups, which combine to fix the relative date of one peculiar type, from sites in England 110 miles apart.

Both were assigned by Montelius to his Period 2,[1] or the first stage of the true Bronze Age, 2000-1650 B.C. (*Archaeologia*, lxi, 117–18, with references); and the Snowshill group is the more important, as the primitive spearhead is typologically a little earlier than the Arreton Down hoard (Isle of Wight), which contained several flanged celts of early type (*Archaeologia*, lxi, 447). The spearhead, which is essentially a dagger for hafting by means of a tang and collar or rudimentary socket, accompanied a dagger with three rivet-holes, a bronze pin, and stone axe-hammer in an unburnt cist-burial at the centre of a barrow, below the original surface, on the northern boundary of Gloucestershire. A skeleton was enclosed in a space 4 ft. long and 3 ft. wide; and the axe-hammer (*Archaeologia*, lii, 72) has a semicircular cutting-edge at one end and an angular butt with a long oval hammer-end (fig. 1). It is a graceful weapon, more for parade than for use, and is 6·3 in. long with a straight boring almost in the middle of its length. The central portion is comparatively slender, with the top and bottom flat and parallel; and the sudden expansion of both ends reminds one of the effect of hammering on the cutting-edge of the earliest (flat) celts in this country, the object of which was to harden the metal.

Hove is far from the Oolite country, and the cist was therefore represented by an oak coffin, cut from the trunk in one piece. The remains of the barrow were cleared away in 1857, and the discovery has been recently reviewed by Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A., and his son in *Brighton and Hove Archaeologist*, no. 2, p. 21, where the original accounts are cited and a map supplied. The coffin was between 6 and 7 ft. long, and lay nearly east-and-west, containing in the centre,

[1] His Period 1 is the Copper Age, about 2500-2000 B.C.

as if laid on the breast, an amber cup and small whetstone, a bronze dagger and stone axe-head (fig. 2) of the same type as that from Snowshill, but with a blunt edge at both ends: in the strict sense, it is neither double-axe nor axe-hammer, but a weapon of parade, like the cushion-type noticed below. Apart from these

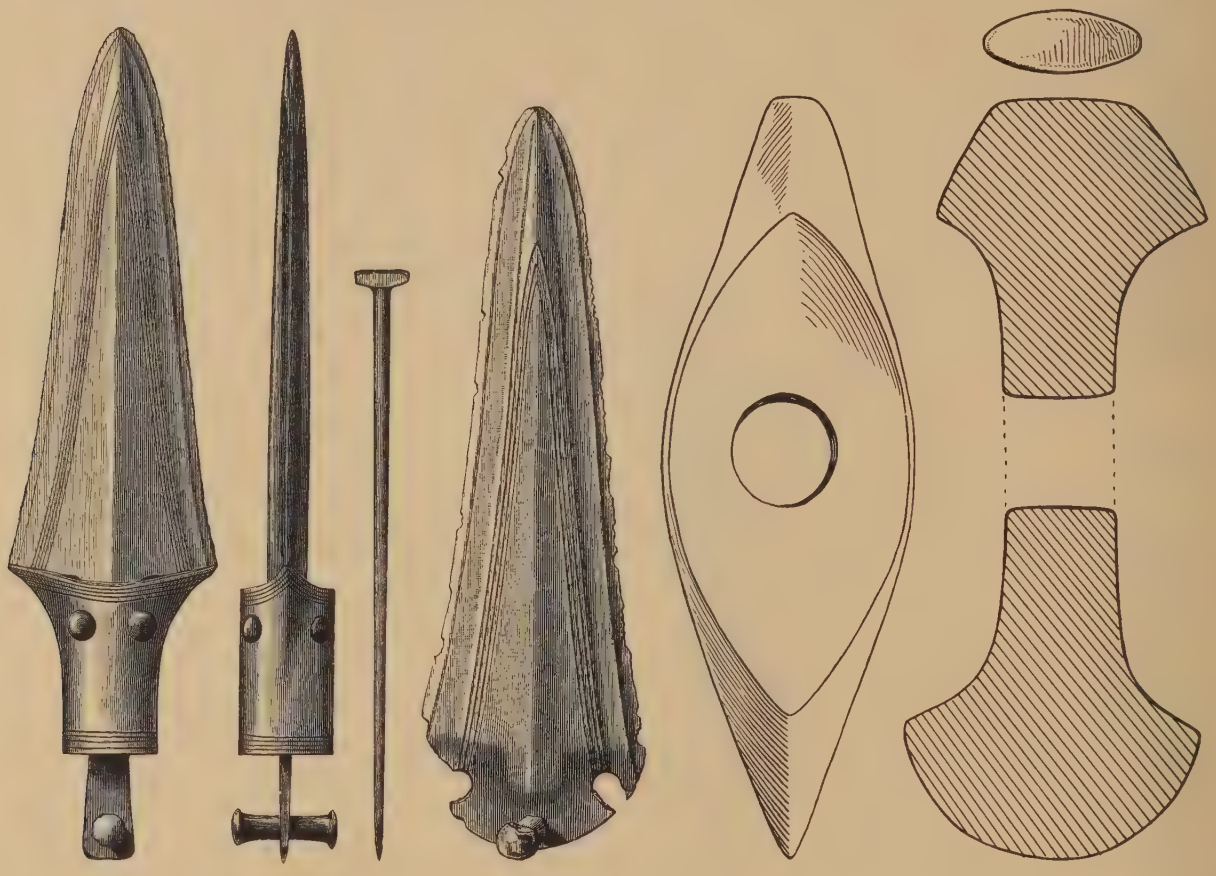


Fig. 1. Axe-hammer (⅔) found with bronze spearhead, pin, and dagger, Snowshill, Glos. (½).

minor details, it is an obvious parallel to the Gloucestershire specimen, and the existence of an elaborate type early in our Bronze Age is thus established.

On the other hand, a general resemblance to a Danish type (fig. 35) is obvious, though the chronological relation is not so clear. The angles are here softened and the perforation is characteristically nearer the butt, but the figure shows the same parallelism of top and bottom, almost equal expansion of the ends, and much the same plan. Its exact locality is unknown, but it belongs rather to the megalithic than to the single-grave culture of Denmark, and the type has been definitely assigned to the Passage-grave period (corresponding to our Long-barrows) by Stjerna in *L'Anthropologie*, xxi (1910), p. 29. His types are

here reproduced, and are quite distinct from what is found in the single-graves (figs. 47, 48). The axe-hammer that is most like the double-axe (fig. 3, *c*) may be compared with one from the Hamburg area figured by Åberg (*op. cit.*,

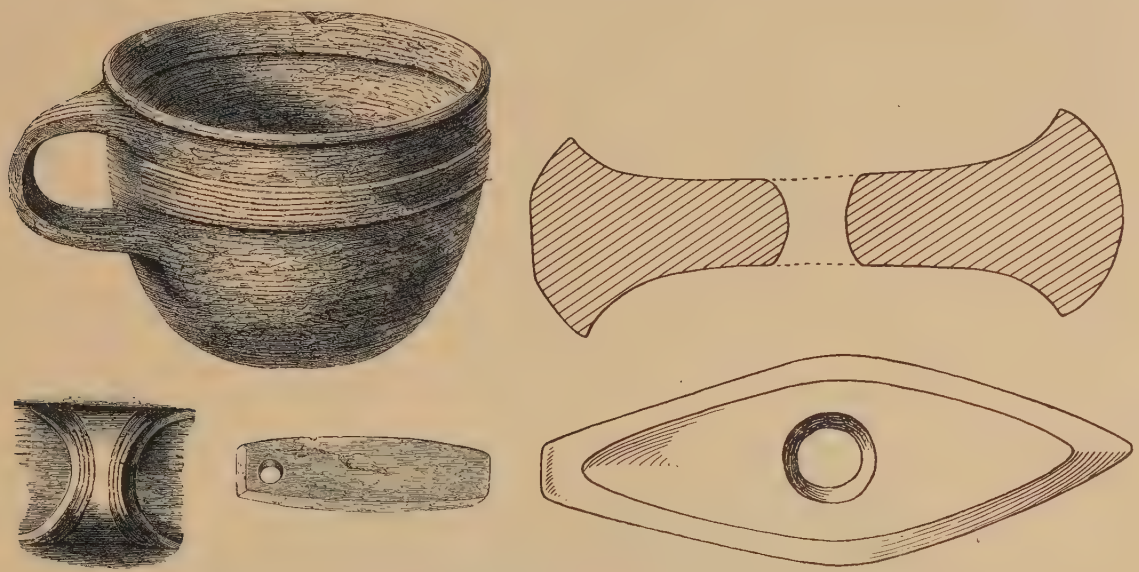


Fig. 2. Axe-hammer found with amber cup and hone, Hove, Sussex. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

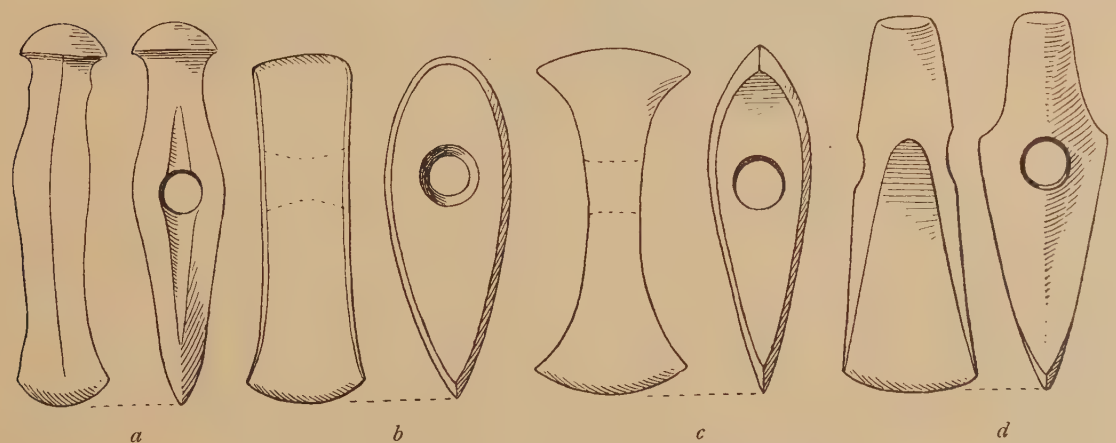


Fig. 3. Axe-hammers from Scandinavian passage-graves.

fig. 9); and a chronological question at once arises. If all of this group are considered contemporary, it follows that the passage-graves of Denmark, which are generally assigned to the third of four stages of the Neolithic period in Scandinavia, correspond to an early (but not the earliest) phase of our Bronze Age; and the discrepancy has been already pointed out in *Proceedings*, xxiii, 230.

Any question of relationship to the first may be waived for the moment, and

a second type noticed, which is fully represented in burials of the British Bronze Age. Attention was drawn to this series by the discovery of a specimen close to a human skull in a burial at Amesbury, Wilts., in 1920, and it is not necessary to repeat here in full the conclusions drawn in the *Journal*, i, 127. Two more of those figured in that paper were dated more or less closely by associated finds, and none is known to have belonged to a cremated interment. That from Standlow, Derbyshire (fig. 4), was found by J. F. Lucas in 1869, under a barrow

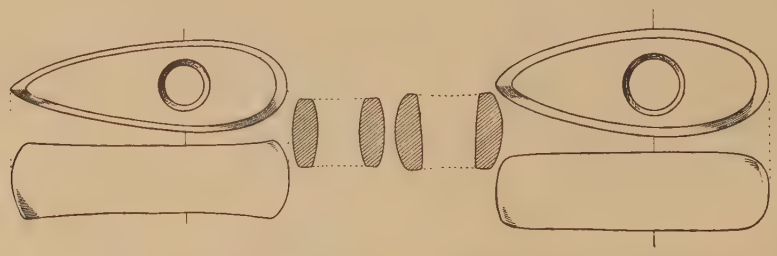


Fig. 4. Axe-hammer, Standlow. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Fig. 5. Axe-hammer, Bulford. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Fig. 6. Axe-hammer, East Kennet. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

with a bronze dagger (both in the British Museum: *Archaeologia*, xliii, 411, note *e*), but the kind of burial is not recorded. It is dished at top and bottom like one from Wiltshire, which is also of the same length ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in.). This (fig. 5) was found by our Fellow Colonel Hawley on Bulford Down with a primary burial of a brachycephalic man in the crouching attitude (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxxvi, 617 and 622, fig. 5), and traces of the handle were noticed, a bone wedge having been used to secure the head. The most attractive specimen of this type is of hard bluish stone veined with white (fig. 6), which was illustrated in *Archaeologia*, xliii, 410, fig. 96, and in the Salisbury volume of the Archaeological Institute (1851), 110, fig. 14. It accompanied a skeleton with a beaker and bronze dagger-blade in a barrow near the long barrow at East Kennet, Wilts., but there are glaring discrepancies in the two accounts of the discovery, and it will suffice to add references to our *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., iv, 339, and *Arch. Journ.* xxiv, 29. In this case the top and bottom are parallel, there being no expansion of the cutting-edge, and the similarity to a copper or bronze type known from Scandi-

navia (fig. 7) is striking and important. Besides the Norwegian specimen here figured from Romsdals-amt, one is published from Torslunda, Uppland, Sweden, with a slightly spreading cutting-edge, and if it were really found with a flanged celt (*Archiv für Anthropologie*, xxvi, 19, figs. 170, 172) would date about 1700 B.C. Another, of stone, was found at Hedersleben, twenty-four miles SW. of Magdeburg (*op. cit.*, p. 23, figs. 181–3) with a skeleton, a chisel of almost pure copper,

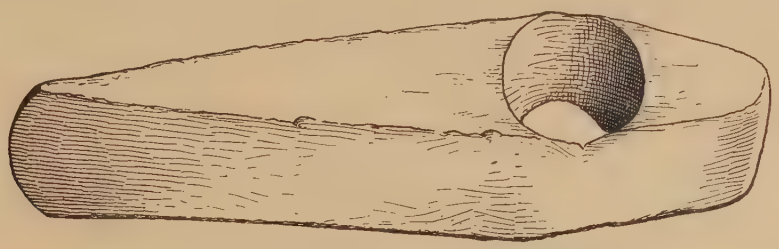


Fig. 7. Copper axe-hammer found in Norway.

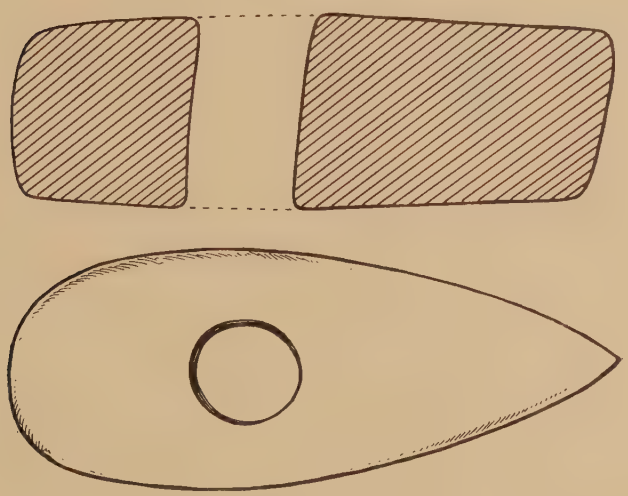


Fig. 8. Axe-hammer, Denmark. (⅔)

and a pottery cup that is analogous to the amber vessel in the Hove burial. As stone and metal axe-hammers were both being produced early in the Bronze Age, it might be questioned which was the model and which the copy;[1] but in England at any rate no metal example of the type has been found, and those of stone which are datable clearly belong to the Bronze Age. The straight perforation, which was probably done with a metal drill, is evidence against a neolithic date. A stone specimen from Denmark is illustrated (fig. 8), and this type has been named after Fredsgård (Zealand) where it occurred

[1] Much, in *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, p. 214, illustrates a copper specimen of this type from Hungary, bronze from Holstein, and stone from Hungary.

in a passage-grave in Sneslev parish. Stjerna went so far as to attribute the type to Britain (*L'Anthropologie*, xxi, 26), and included it (fig. 3, *b*) in the megalithic or passage-grave series, there being at that time a good deal of intercourse between Britain and the south of Scandinavia.

The distinguishing features of this type are the flat and parallel top and bottom, and the perforation near the broad and rounded butt: a good British

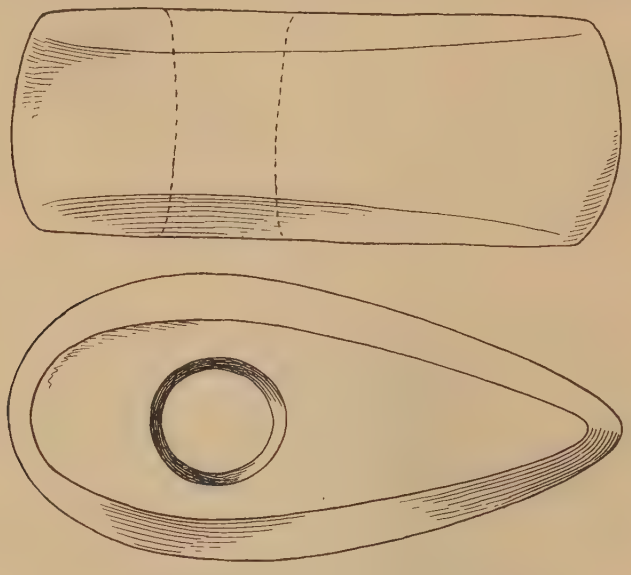


Fig. 9. Axe-hammer, Rudston, E. R., Yorks. (⅔)

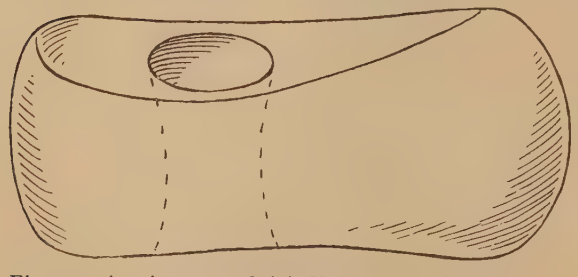


Fig. 10. Axe-hammer, Calais Wold, E. R., Yorks. (⅔)

example in the British Museum comes from Rudston, E. R., Yorks. (fig. 9), where it was found with a bronze dagger in an unburnt burial (*British Barrows*, 266, fig. 126; Evans, fig. 127); and it is peculiar in having bevelled edges. Another example, from Thirkel Low, near Buxton, Derbyshire (*Proceedings*, xvi, 266), was found with a crouched skeleton below a cairn, and has the top and bottom slightly dished, with the perforation nearer the centre. One from Calais Wold in the East Riding (fig. 10) seems also to belong to this category, having been found close to the left shoulder of an adult male skeleton in a flexed posi-

tion, associated with a food-vessel (Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, 154, figs. 398, 399).

If the East Kennet specimen be accepted as a type dating from the Copper or else the earliest Bronze Age, the chronological order of this series may be fixed by changes in the profile, the outline (top or bottom view) remaining constant. On the supposition that inhumation was on the whole earlier than cremation, the following sequence is suggested for three well-authenticated finds in Derbyshire, all now in Sheffield Museum (Bateman collection). At

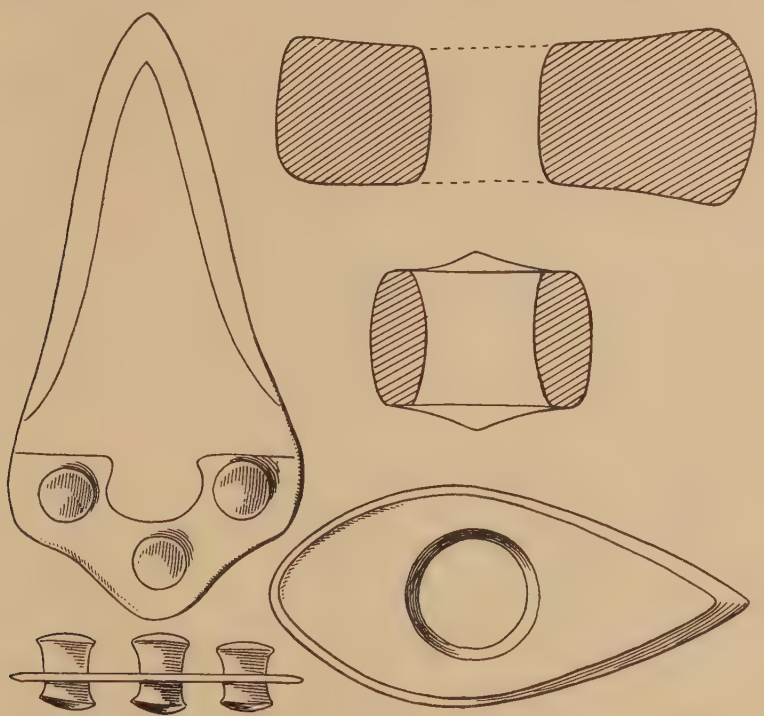


Fig. 11. Axe-hammer found with bronze dagger, Carder Low, Derbyshire. (⅔)

Carder Low, near Hartington, an axe-hammer of toadstone or basalt (fig. 11) was found below a barrow in 1845 with a bronze dagger still retaining three stout rivets for attaching the handle. Bateman's account is given in his *Vestiges*, p. 63 (Sheffield Mus. *Cat.*, p. 6). The increasing convexity of the butt in profile will be noticed, and the cutting-edge is more spreading in a similar specimen (fig. 12) found with a secondary interment in a barrow on Parcelly Hay in the same neighbourhood during 1848, with a bronze dagger having three stout rivets as before (fig. 11): see Sheffield Mus. *Cat.*, p. 8. These two diagrams and that of the Throwley specimen (fig. 34) were kindly supplied by Mr. Howarth, curator of Weston Park Museum.

A slender specimen (fig. 13) of granitic stone, 4 in. long, from Trevelgue (or

Trevalga), St. Columb Minor, Cornwall, is apparently lost,[1] but one like it from Venton Vedna is in Truro Museum. The primary cist in which the former was found had a heavy capstone, and was covered by a barrow 13 ft. high and 86 ft. in diameter, the axe-hammer lying near the hand of a contracted skeleton. The perforation is of the hour-glass pattern (like Hove, fig. 2), and the cutting-edge has a decided expansion. With this should be mentioned a damaged axe-head 5 in. long (fig. 14) of much the same type from Windmill Hill, near Ave-

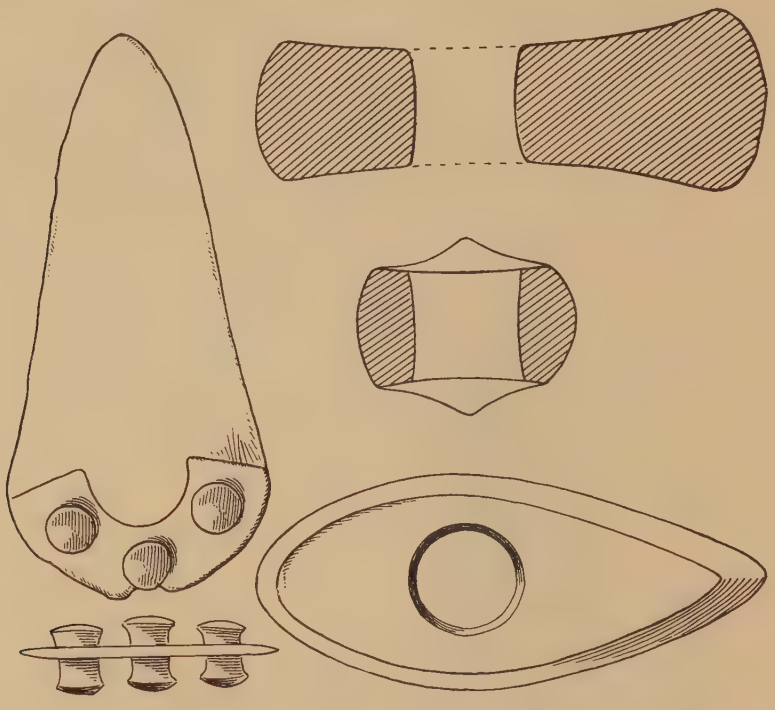


Fig. 12. Axe-hammer found with bronze dagger, Parcelly Hay, Derbyshire. (⅔)

bury, where it is said to have been found with a 'grape' cup (of a common Wiltshire pattern) and no less than seven skeletons; but the account was published in 1849 (Salisbury volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 108, fig. 4) and some of the details supplied are inconsistent. Another was found in a rock-fissure at the Bat House, near Crich in Derbyshire, and is figured in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, April 1899, p. 79. Better authenticated is the association of a similar axe-head of diorite (fig. 15) with numerous relics and an unburnt burial in Upton Lovel barrow no. 4, now in Devizes Museum (Hoare, *Ancient Wilts.*, 76, pl. v; Evans, *Stone*[2], pp. 143, 213, 267, 431, fig. 141; Devizes *Cat.*, 1, note). It was found on the breast of the larger of two skeletons,

[1] Illustrated in Borlase's *Nenia Cornubiae*, p. 87: cf. *Proceedings*, v, 482.

near the feet of which were flint celts, polished and unpolished, and various objects in bone and stone. A tanged awl indicates a date in the Bronze Age, and the celts show both the pointed oval section and the sides slightly squared, which in Scandinavia would indicate the Dolmen period, but some of them are re-chipped and re-polished, hence their evidence remains ambiguous. The

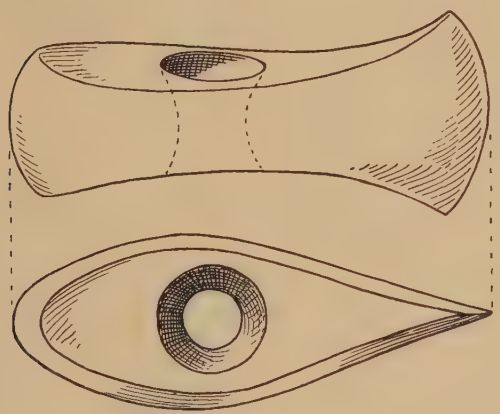


Fig. 13. Axe-hammer, Trevelgue, Cornwall. (⅔)

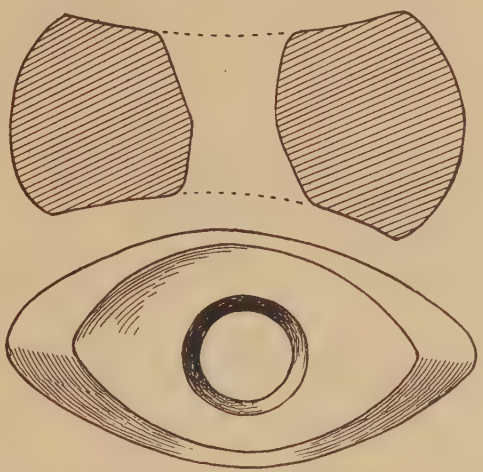


Fig. 14. Axe-hammer, Windmill Hill, Avebury, Wilts. (⅔)

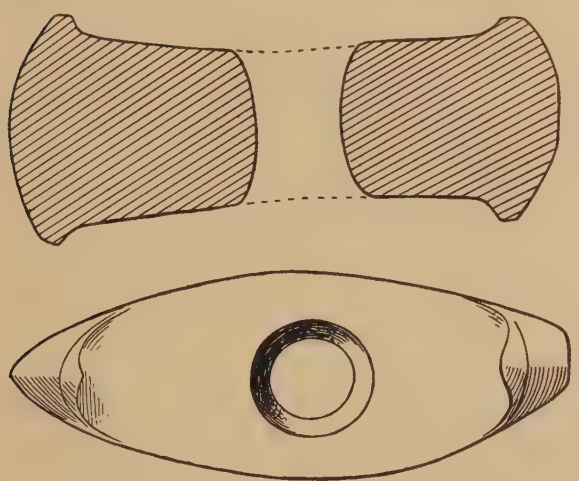


Fig. 15. Axe-hammer, Upton Lovel, Wilts. (⅔)

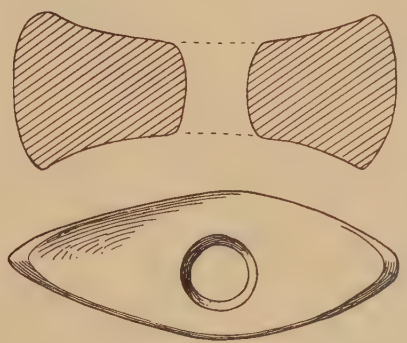


Fig. 16. Axe-hammer, Rolston, Wilts. (⅔)

butt-end of the axe-head is angular, and this feature is noticeable in the Hove and Snowshill examples (figs. 1, 2). The same thickness at both ends is seen in the diorite specimen from Rolston (Rolleston) Field, Shrewton (Hoare, p. 174, pl. xx, no. 1). Here the primary burial was 12 ft. below the summit of a round barrow, the skeleton being flexed with the head at the north end, and on the right of the skull lay the small black axe-hammer (fig. 16).

In the order here adopted there seems to be a growing convexity of the butt in profile from the East Kennet prototype, through the Derbyshire group,

to the Windmill Hill, and finally the Wilsford specimen (fig. 17). This was found in an unburnt burial, and was published by Colt Hoare (vol. i, 209, barrow 18; see also *Archaeologia*, xliii, 411, fig. 97). But on this theory the exaggerated construction of the centre would be a sign of late date within the period of inhumation, which runs counter to Åberg's classification. In any case the Wilsford specimen is far removed from those of Hove and Snowshill, which are dated by associated bronzes, as well as from the East Kennet type which should be still earlier.

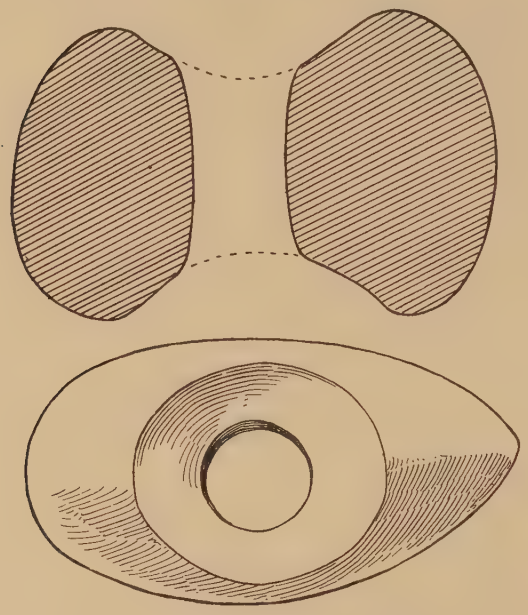


Fig. 17. Axe-hammer, Wilsford, Wilts. (⅔)

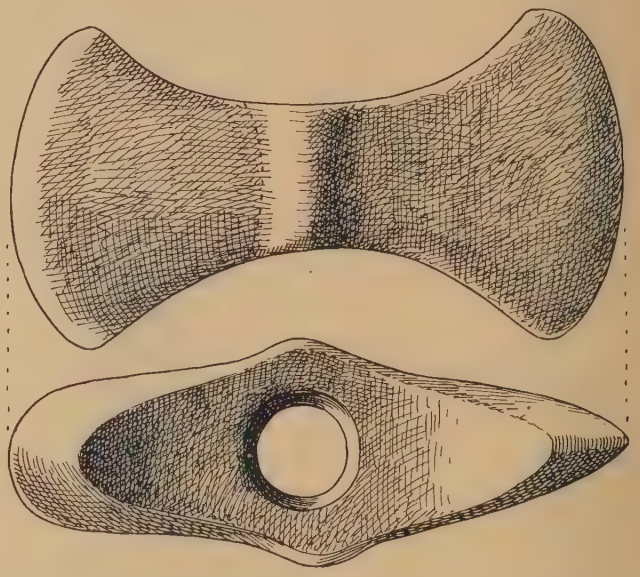


Fig. 18. Axe-hammer, Huggate Pasture, E. R., Yorks. (⅔)

An axe-hammer from Huggate Pasture, E. R., Yorks., was presented to the British Museum in 1888 by Sir Wollaston Franks. It came from a barrow opened by Mr. James Silburn in 1851, but the only contemporary description of its opening mentions nothing else but a broken urn, which might have been a food-vessel or a cinerary urn, and therefore does not decide the kind of burial. Mr. Mortimer reopened the barrow in 1882 (*Forty Years' Researches*, p. 312, fig. 928), and recognized the limits of the previous excavation, the north side of the grave being undisturbed. Towards the south end was a heap of bones belonging to an adult, evidently replaced in the grave, as a strip of lead stamped with Silburn's name was found below them; and Mortimer had no doubt that the urn and stone axe-hammer (fig. 18) were found with this body, which was a primary interment, cut in the rock 4½ ft. below the original surface. The swelling on both sides, level with the perforation, at once marks it as an exceptional speci-

men ; and though the double-axe element may be recognized in the side view, the butt, which is rounded but uniformly thick from top to bottom, shows that it is far removed from the prototype. To give it a place in the series is difficult, and perhaps at this stage undesirable, as its leading feature is of the rarest occurrence, though common in the Jutland series from the single-graves (late Neolithic). In other respects, however, it stands apart from that series, and may be due to Danish influence, but is not an importation.

Though common among the larger and coarser axe-hammers, which were doubtless used as domestic tools, the square butt is rarely seen on the battle-axe, and the two examples here cited come from inhumations in Yorkshire. That from Cowlam in the East Riding (fig. 19) was buried with a young man, in association with worked flints and jet, which lay behind the head (*British Barrows*, p. 222, fig. 115 ; Evans, fig. 135) ; and at Garton Slack a beaker, flint dagger, and jet button were found with the skeleton, in addition to the axe-hammer (Mortimer, *op. cit.*, fig. 513).[1] This burial has recently been noticed with others containing flint daggers (*Proceedings*, xxxii, 9), and can be referred without hesitation to the Beaker period,[2] whether that coincided in this country with the Copper Age, or with the first Bronze phase. Such evidence is particularly useful in view of the square-butted axe-hammers of metal found in northern Europe. These seem to have been copied in stone,[3] and parallels were given by Montelius in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, xxv, 467, note 1, fig. 59 (bronze from Hanover), and 458-9 (several of stone and bronze); also vol. xxvi, 990, fig. 529 (copper from Ottwitz, Silesia); 464, fig. 234 (bronze from Norway), and 471, fig. 253 (copper from Hungary). The plan or top-view of these is a lozenge truncated at one end ; and one from Sköllersta, Örebro, Sweden (*Fornvännen*, 1907, p. 276, fig. 116) is not far removed in type from the Scandinavian metal-

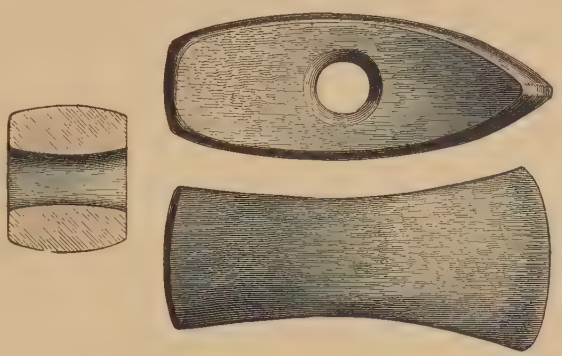


Fig. 19. Axe-hammer, Cowlam, E. R., Yorks. (½)

[1] An axe-hammer of this type was associated with flint-daggers in a barrow at Newark, near Peterborough, but the nature of the burial could not be determined by Mr. Thurlow Leeds (*Proceedings*, xxiv, 82).

[2] No flint dagger has been found with bronze in Britain, and in Scandinavia the flint dagger period includes the later passage-graves and the cists that followed them. Dr. Sophus Müller regards it as the last Neolithic stage, when bronze was already in use elsewhere in Europe (*Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1916–17, 228).

[3] See, for instance, Hans Seger in *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, N. F. v, 3.

form referred to above (fig. 7). A bronze specimen of the same coffin-shape from Flensborg is published in *Mém. Antiq. Nord*, 1914–15, 142.

Apart from the question of precedence it will be admitted that there was a close connexion between stone and metal axe-hammers of certain types; but it is easy to imagine another source for another series of perforated stone hammers; and the suggested prototype has normally the hour-glass perforation, which is no proof, but at least an argument in favour, of a neolithic date. The mace may well have been evolved from a stone disc with blunt edges and a natural perforation in the centre. Weight and strength would be increased by selecting a thicker stone, but the difficulty of perforating it or of enlarging a natural orifice would increase in the same proportion; and revolving a stick in wet sand on either face must have been a wearisome process. A great advance was possible when the metal cylinder became available, and a specimen (fig. 20) that recalls the primitive pebble, but has a straight perforation characteristic of the Bronze Age, was found in the Bush barrow, Normanton, Wilts., with an unburnt burial, gold and bronze objects, including two fine daggers. Colt Hoare's illustration (*op. cit.* i, 204, barrow 158, pl. xxvii; reproduced in Evans, fig. 154) is inadequate, and the diagrams have been made direct from the original in Devizes Museum. There is no cutting-edge, but a blunt point at both ends, forming a double pick or hammer. The same tradition may perhaps be traced in an almost cylindrical hammer (fig. 21), from a barrow at Towthorpe, E. R., Yorks., excavated and published by Mr. Mortimer (*op. cit.*, p. 6, fig. 9). It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and lay on the left side of the skull, traces of the original ash handle showing that it was about 18 in. in length. With the skeleton were also a bronze dagger $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and a finely chipped flint knife. To judge from the drawing, the end is flat and circular, agreeing in this respect with many of the cremation series, and the Normanton specimen (fig. 20) would be a good parallel if it were truncated at both ends.

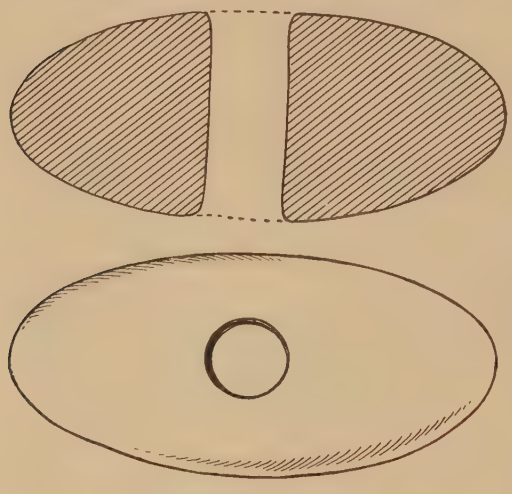


Fig. 20. Pointed hammer, Normanton, Wilts. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

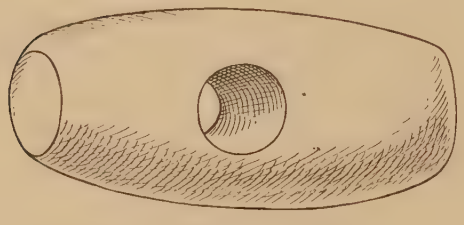


Fig. 21. Stone hammer, Towthorpe, E. R., Yorks. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

In Scotland a plain oval mace-head with central perforation (fig. 22) was found with a cremated interment in a cist at Cleughead, Kincardine (Anderson,

Scotland in Pagan Times: Stone and Bronze Ages, p. 320, fig. 302); and a more elaborate specimen came from a cinerary urn at Largs, Ayrshire (*Archaeologia*, lxii, 245, fig. 4). The ends are flat and circular, and the mouth of the perforation has mouldings which do not seem to occur on axe-hammers from inhumations, but are seen, for instance, in presumably late specimens, such as the river Bann type (fig. 42). This is not the only case of evolution continued through both periods, and the more common forms assumed by axe-hammers accompanying cremated remains may now be described.

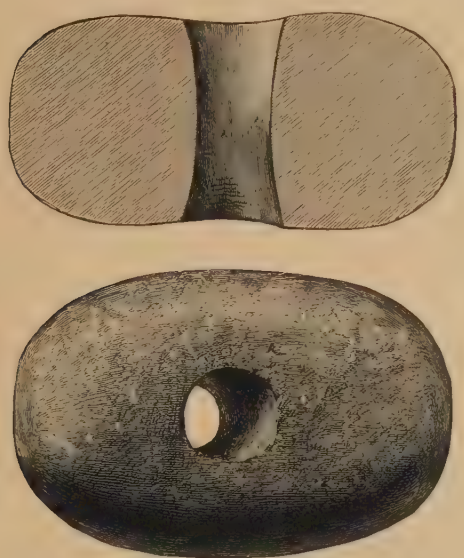


Fig. 22. Stone hammer, Cleughead, Kincardine. (⅔)

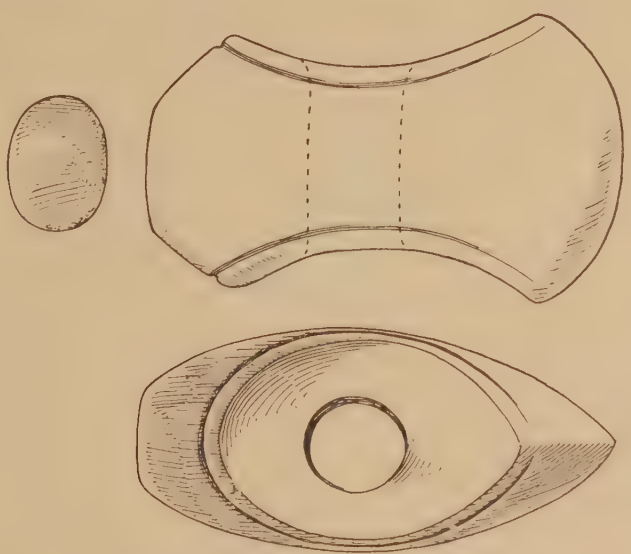


Fig. 23. Axe-hammer, Goodmanham, E. R., Yorks. (⅔)

Though cremation was a radical change in the habits of the ancient Britons, the food-vessel continued as before to be placed in the grave under a round barrow, and it is not surprising to find traces of a gradual transition to the truncated cone of the butt, implying that there had been no sudden importation of a continental type by foreign invaders. A good example is the British Museum specimen from Goodmanham, E. R., Yorks. (fig. 23), 4 in. long, found with a burnt burial, but evidently related to the Wilsford specimen (fig. 17), which has the butt rounded in all directions, not angular as in fig. 23. It is not so elongated in plan, but the position of the perforation and shape of the hammer-face are in close agreement with the specimen (fig. 24) from barrow no. 6 at Ashton Valley, Wilts. (Hoare, pl. VIII, below), which was found with burnt human bones under a cinerary urn, and seems to be later than that from barrow no. 8 (fig. 28).

The double-axe element is disappearing: the cutting-edge in profile is

nearly the same as the butt (damaged by fire) in fig. 28, and the perforation almost central; whereas the butt is much reduced in fig. 29, and the perforation much farther from the cutting-edge. Again, the hammer-end of fig. 29 is a fuller oval than that of the Snowshill example, but less than that of fig. 24, which is almost a circle like fig. 36.

Apart from those with a definite truncated cone at the butt there are a few which, as might be expected, bear a certain resemblance to the inhumation

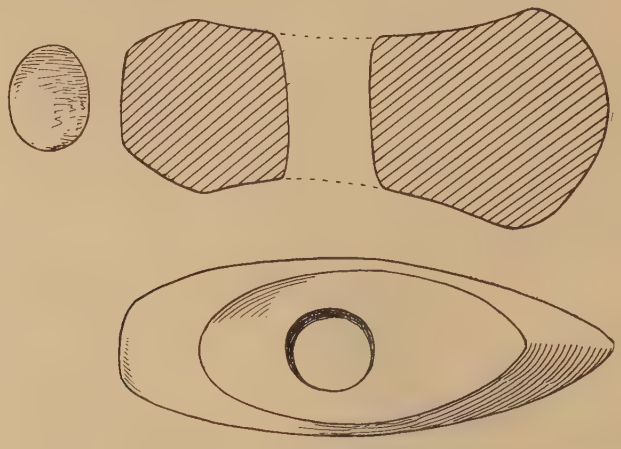


Fig. 24. Axe-hammer, Ashton Valley, Wilts. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Fig. 25. Axe-hammer, Blanche, E. R., Yorks. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Fig. 26. Axe-hammer, Oban, Scotland. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

group, the differences of date being perhaps insignificant. The change in the funeral rite has not been explained, but it is conceivable that during the vogue of a particular pattern of axe-hammer both rites were practised; so that some allowance must be made for overlapping in any classification. For example, the stone axe-hammer (fig. 25) found with a cremated youth, in association with a pottery vessel, flint flakes, and a bone pin (Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, 323, figs. 958–62), in the Blanche group of barrows in the East Riding, and itself split by fire, is much like those from Calais Wold (fig. 10) in the same county and Thirkel Low in Derbyshire, both from unburnt burials. Again, the Oban

specimen (fig. 26), found with a large cinerary urn, closely resembles that from Seghill (fig. 27), except that it has a slight ogee curve on the butt seen in profile. The perforation of both is in the middle, and there is an approach to symmetry in the profile, suggesting a double-axe rather than an axe-hammer.

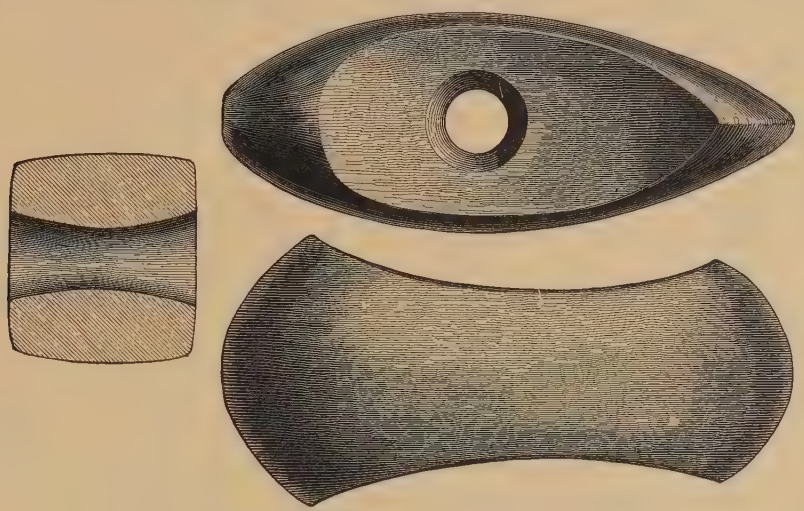


Fig. 27. Axe-hammer, Seghill, Northumberland. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

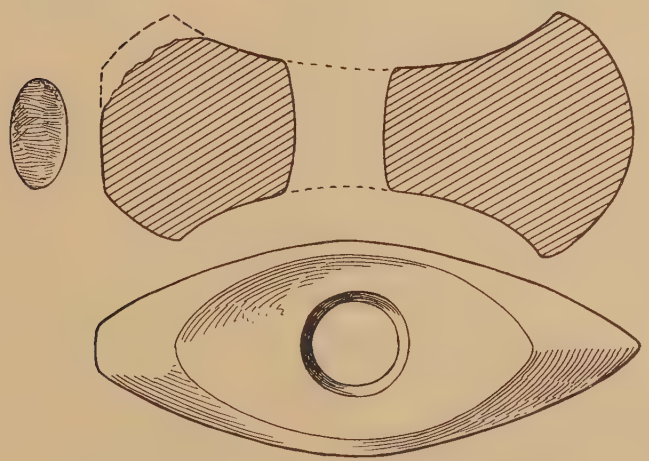


Fig. 28. Axe-hammer, Ashton Valley, Wilts. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

There is much in common also between the specimen (fig. 28) found with a bone arrow-head and burnt bones in barrow no. 8 at Ashton Valley, Wilts. and that from Snowshill (fig. 1) which is presumably much earlier. The smaller one is more stumpy, and the top and bottom are no longer parallel, but the oval hammer-faces are much the same; and a fuller oval is seen on the butt of a slender ornamental specimen (fig. 29), $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, which was found with

a bronze dagger in a cremated burial at Selwood, Stourton, Wilts. It was illustrated in perspective as usual by Colt Hoare (*op. cit.*, i, 39, barrow 1, pl. 1; Evans, *Stone*[2], p. 211, fig. 140), but is here figured in diagrammatic form like others in Devizes Museum, with the kind permission of Mrs. Cunnington.

Somewhat difficult to place is a rounded and damaged specimen (fig. 30) found with three worked flints and the cremated remains of a woman at Garthbeibio, Montgomeryshire, which is here illustrated by permission of Dr. Mortimer Wheeler. The cutting-edge is blunted, and at its top end can be

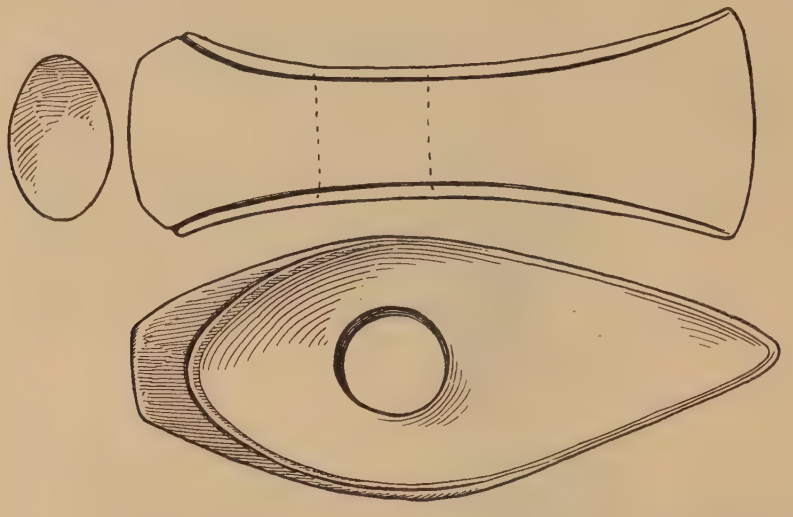


Fig. 29. Axe-hammer, Stourton, Wilts. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

seen the stump of a projection which may be compared with the Upton Lovel example (fig. 15). The butt is rounded like a pebble, not forming a truncated cone; and the top view gives the impression that the Ashton Valley (no. 6) type (fig. 24) gradually expanded at the butt, much as the Westerdale Moor axe-hammer (fig. 40) seems to be a coarser and heavier edition of that from Stourton (fig. 29). The poor condition of the Garthbeibio example is as strange as its interment in a woman's grave.

Another parallel is furnished by two examples of the Fredsgård type from Yorkshire, both in the British Museum—that from Rudston (fig. 9) has the top and bottom edge bevelled, and was found in an unburnt burial with a bronze dagger, and is $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. long (Evans, fig. 127; *British Barrows*, p. 266, fig. 126): the other (fig. 31) came from a burial after cremation on Potter Brompton Wold, Ganton, E. R., Yorks. (Evans, fig. 126; *British Barrows*, p. 158, fig. 99). The length is 5 in. and the plan very similar, though the profile shows an expansion at both ends, whereas the Rudston specimen has the top and bottom flat and parallel. To this category also belongs one of basalt (fig. 32), found on the floor of a grave

with a cremation, but with large pieces of unburnt pelvis, at Towthorpe in the East Riding (Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, figs. 41, 41 A). This has evidently been battered in use at the butt-end.

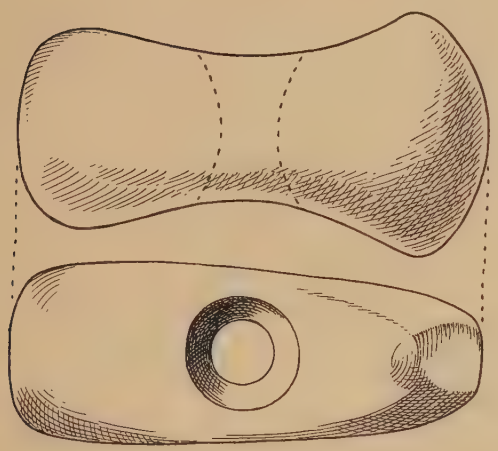


Fig. 30. Axe-hammer, Garthbeibio, Montgomeryshire. (⅔)

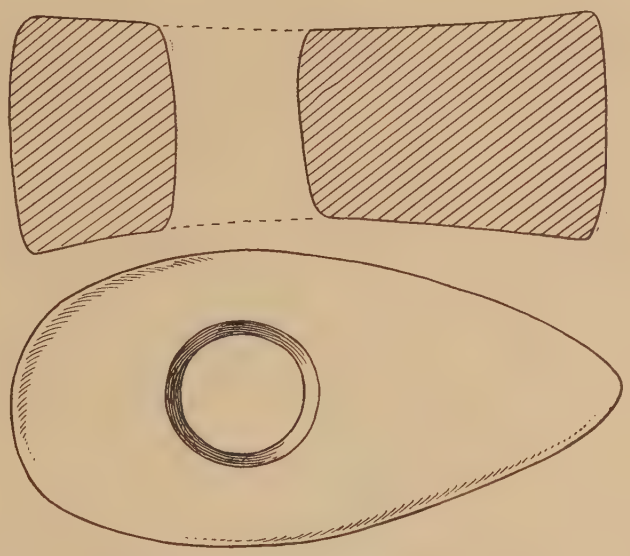


Fig. 31. Axe-hammer, Potter Brompton Wold, Ganton, E. R., Yorks. (⅔)

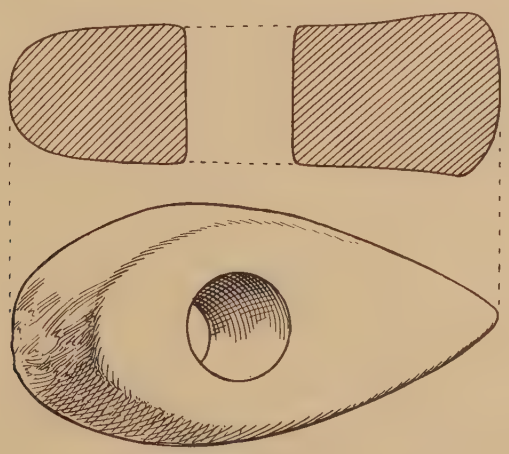


Fig. 32. Axe-hammer, Towthorpe, E. R., Yorks. (⅔)

A true descendant of the double axe can be seen from Stancomb Downs, near Lambourn, Berks.[1] (fig. 33). It measures 3½ in. in length, and was found with a burnt body, incense-cup, and perforated hammer of deer-antler; but Montelius'

[1] *Archaeologia*, lii, 60, fig. 26; lxi, 109. All three objects are in the British Museum (*Bronze Age Guide*, 2nd ed., figs. 92, 93).

attribution of it to his first period (before 2000) seems to have little justification. The ends have an almost equal expansion, though one edge is sharper than the other, and the perforation is straight (not of the hour-glass form that is character-

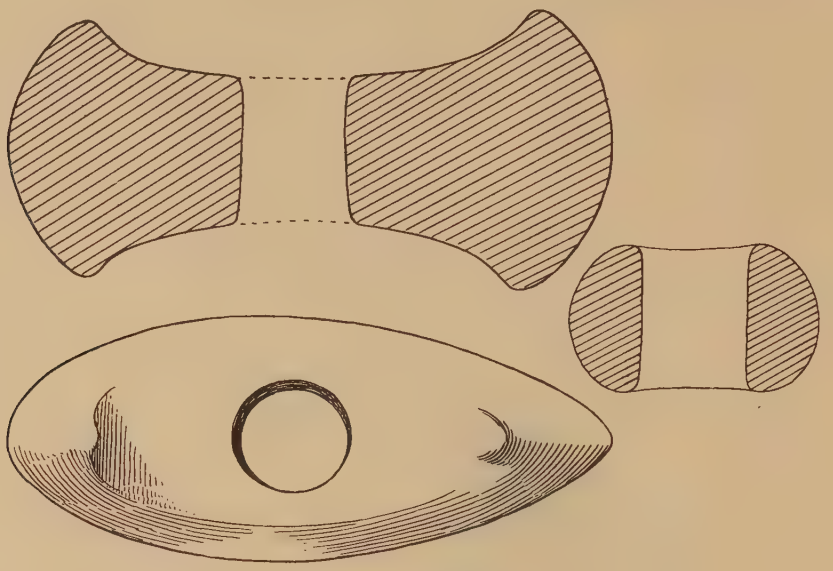


Fig. 33. Axe-hammer, Stancomb Downs, Berks. (⅔)

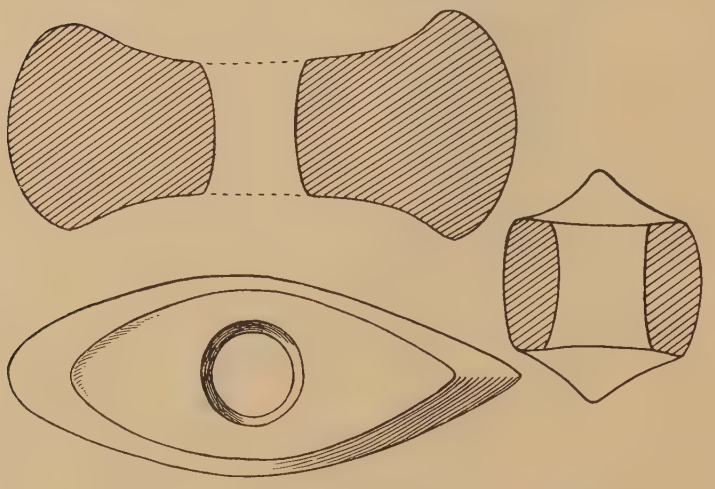


Fig. 34. Axe-hammer, Throwley, Staffs. (⅔)

istic of primitive specimens), though the transverse section shows that the sides are exceptionally convex. A fine example from Oban, Scotland,[1] is 4 in. long with an ogee curve on the rounded butt when seen in profile (fig. 26): it was found with (not in) a large cinerary urn which is illustrated in *Archaeologia*, lxi,

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxii, 59 (reproduced by permission, as also figs. 22 and 24).

127, fig. 79. Both these have a strong family likeness to the basalt axe-hammer from Throwley, Staffs. (fig. 34), which was found in an urn with burnt bones, also two bone pins, a whistle (?), bronze awl, and flint spearhead, nearly all of them burnt (Bateman, *Ten Years' Digging*, p. 155).

The Lambourn specimen bears a striking resemblance, not only in plan and profile, but in its rounded edges and general appearance, to one from Denmark in the British Museum (fig. 35); but the latter has a slightly thicker

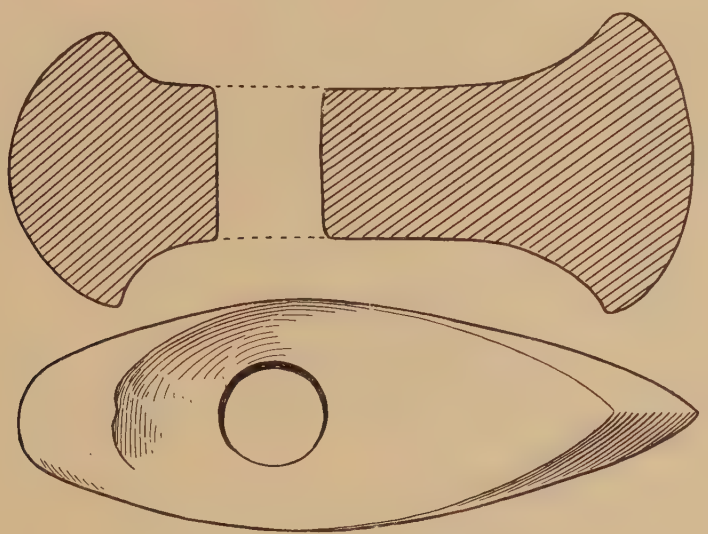


Fig. 35. Axe-hammer, Denmark. (⅔)

butt, and the perforation shows the Danish tendency to approach the butt, though this example must be early in the evolutionary series (p. 106).

It is one more argument in favour of the classification of Bronze Age burials adopted here that a considerable proportion of axe-hammers found with cremated remains have a truncated cone at the butt—a feature not recognized in unburnt burials, which are considered to belong to the first half of the Bronze Age in this country. This may be taken as a new departure, though the germ of the idea can perhaps be traced in the central flattening of the hinder edge in such forms as Snowshill (fig. 1), and Seghill (fig. 27).

A well-authenticated specimen (fig. 36) that may be taken as the type was found in levelling a large barrow at Winwick, three miles from Warrington, Lancs.[1] The axe-hammer is of porphyritic clay-stone, 5 in. long, and was placed

[1] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xvi (1860), 295, pl. xxv, figs. 8 and 9 (bronze); *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire*, xii (1860), p. 190. These figures are in perspective, and the diagrams here published for the first time have been drawn by permission of Mr. G. A. Dunlop, Curator of Warrington Museum.

with a bronze lance-head (fig. 36) in a cinerary urn with burnt human bones. The bronze point with rivet-hole in the tang recalls the Arreton Down type discussed in *Archaeologia*, lxi, 444, pl. LIX; but the metal is thin and workmanship poor, the coping being almost flat and the ridge not in the central line. Its length, moreover, is only $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., against an average of $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. for the primitive spearheads; and its occurrence is not sufficient in itself to upset the classification, as rudimentary forms might occur at any stage, whereas the

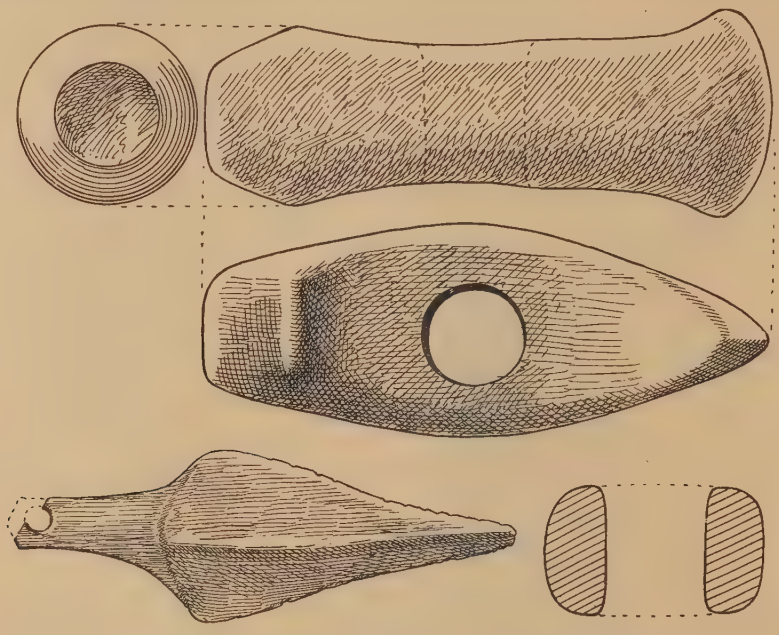


Fig. 36. Axe-hammer found with bronze lance-head, Winwick, Lancs. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

change in burial customs is fundamental and in a sense irrevocable. The axe-hammer has a circular hammer-face, and in the cremation series may be compared with the Wiltshire specimens from Ashton Valley (fig. 24), Stourton (fig. 29), and the second from Ashton Valley (fig. 28), these showing the transition from the oval to the circular butt.

Akin to this is the specimen (fig. 37) found, oddly enough, in a Viking grave at Claughton Hall, Garstang, in the same county;[1] and though there is nothing to prove whether it belonged originally to a burnt or unburnt burial (even if it were not a stray find), it has been well argued that its presence in a grave dating nearly two thousand years after its manufacture is merely fortuitous. A Viking who picked it up in England would, no doubt, find it as serviceable as his Bronze Age predecessor had done; but Sir John Evans held that there was an error in the account of the discovery: 'as an urn, containing burnt bones,

[1] *Arch. Journ.*, vi, 74; Evans, *Stone*[2], p. 210.

was found in the same tumulus, it seems probable that the objects belonging to different burials (primary and secondary) in the barrow, became mixed during the twenty-seven years that elapsed between their discovery and the communication to the Archaeological Institute.'

Another stumpy specimen, 4 in. long, of the same type, was published by Sir John Evans (*Stone*[2], p. 210, fig. 138) from Winterbourne Steepleton, Dorset (fig. 38), where it was found with a burnt body. A more elaborate example, with the conical butt (fig. 39), was found by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson in an urn about 17 in. high, containing burnt bones and fragments of calcined flint below a large barrow on Skelton (Gerrick) Moors, N. R., Yorks.[1] In the same barrow were found eight other urns, all containing secondary interments; and the absence of inhumations is all in favour of a late date. Indeed, the interments in forty

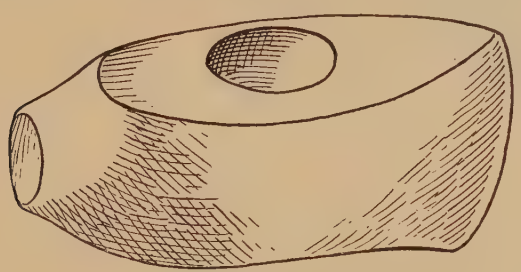


Fig. 37. Axe-hammer, Claughton Hall, Lancs.

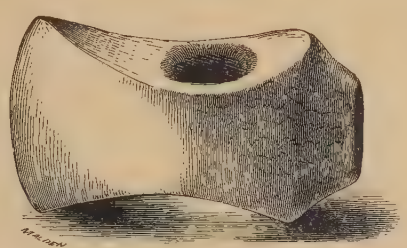


Fig. 38. Axe-hammer, Winterbourne Steepleton, Dorset. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

grave-mounds opened by Mr. Atkinson were without exception by way of cremation, and may indicate that Cleveland was not occupied in the early stages of our Bronze Age. There are projections on both sides in a line with the centre of the perforation, and a groove near each margin of the sides continued on the top and bottom to mark the base of the truncated cone. Two others are compared with it by Sir John Evans, from cremated burials on Danby North Moors[2] and Westerdale Moors, N. R., Yorks. (fig. 40). The latter is here figured for the first time, and was found by Mr. Atkinson with a secondary interment under a barrow, lying in an urn with burnt bones, a small incense-cup, and a long bone bead. Though angular in plan like fig. 39, with a round hammer-face, it bears in profile a strong resemblance to fig. 29; and the oval hole should be noticed as a rare occurrence.

It is remarkable that nearly all the axe-hammers from unburnt burials are devoid of ornament, whereas many from cremations are grooved or reeded on the borders of the top and bottom. The bevelling of fig. 9 seems to be a move

[1] Evans, *Stone*[2], 211, fig. 139; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, p. 159, fig. 100, note on p. 158; Brit. Mus. *Bronze Age Guide*[2], fig. 94.

[2] This is in the British Museum, but in poor condition, the surface peeling off.

in that direction, presumably in the first half of the Bronze Age; but after that the practice became more general, and simple grooves are seen on specimens from Goodmanham (fig. 23), Stourton (fig. 29), and a more complicated arrangement in fig. 39.

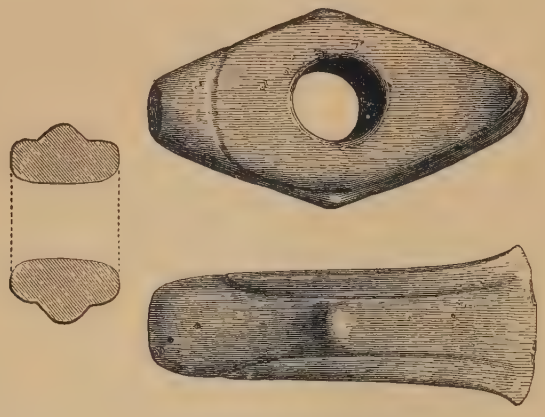


Fig. 39. Axe-hammer, Skelton Moors, N. R., Yorks. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

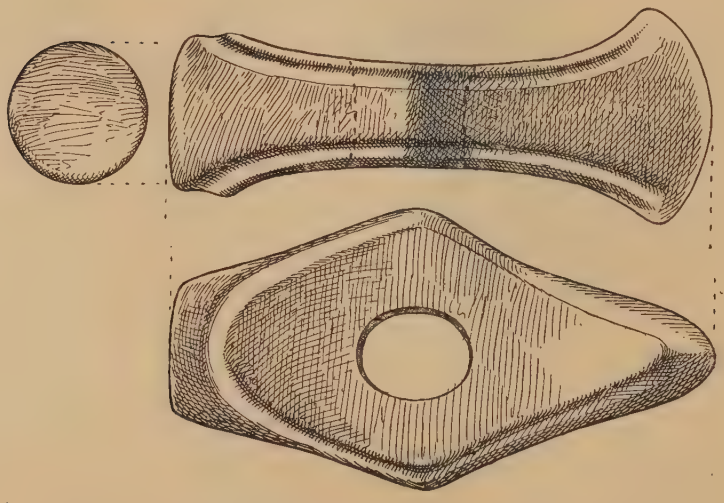


Fig. 40. Axe-hammer, Westerdale Moors, N. R., Yorks. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

From its likeness to fig. 29, a specimen with marginal grooves from the Thames at Cookham, in the British Museum, may be considered to belong to the cremation period, in the absence of other information; and the two figured from Scotland (figs. 41, 44) are known to come from burnt burials.

The axe-head from Crichie, near Inverurie, Aberdeenshire, is one of the series found with ornament in the British Isles,[1] and lay between two deposits of

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, liv, 164; xxxv, 219; J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*, p. 106; Evans, *Stone*, fig. 129.

calcined bones at the base of a standing stone which once belonged to a ring encircling a barrow. The central and primary burial was in a cist where both skeleton and burnt bones were found; but there were signs of a burial about

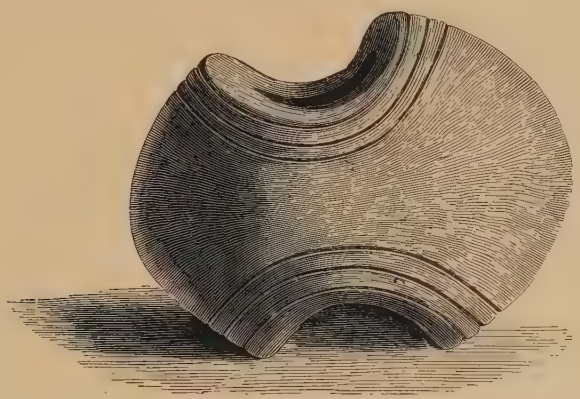


Fig. 41. Axe-hammer, Crichie, Aberdeenshire. (4 in.)

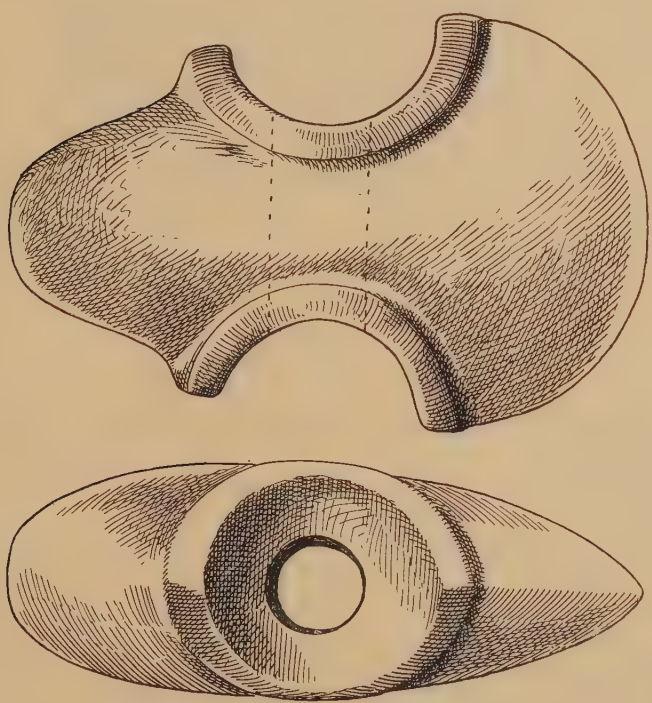


Fig. 42. Axe-hammer, River Bann, Ireland. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

18 in. within each standing stone of the lesser stone-circle (the larger adjoined but is now destroyed), and several cremations with cinerary urns were unearthed in those positions.

A fine-grained mica-schist was the material chosen; and the weapon is

4 in. long, considerably sharper at the broader end, though the edge is well rounded. As Sir John Evans observed (2nd ed., p. 197), 'in general character this specimen approximates to a somewhat rare Irish form'. One from the River Bann, in the British Museum (fig. 42), is formed of a pale green hone-stone, and instead of incised lines has raised flanges on both faces bordering the hollows, in which is the shaft-hole. Its length is $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., and the butt is half an oval, just flattened at the end. A plainer specimen[1] in the same museum is

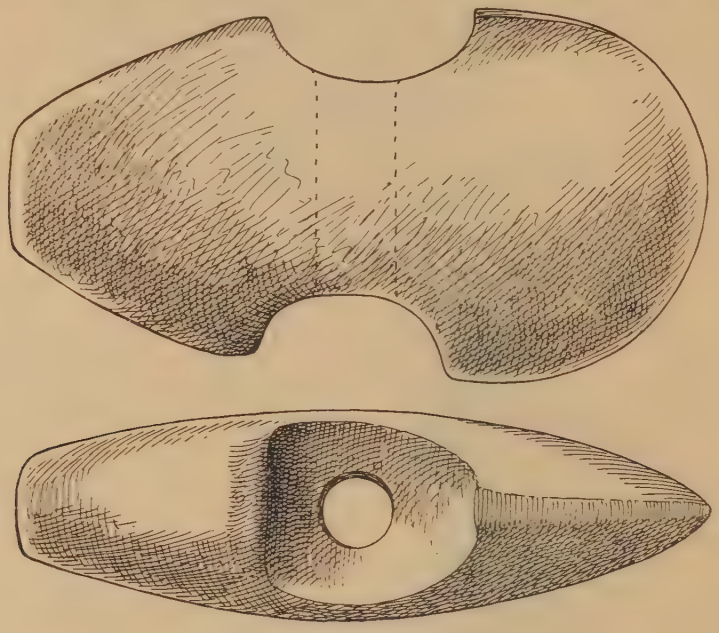


Fig. 43. Axe-hammer, River Bann, Ireland. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

illustrated (fig. 43), and was found in deepening the Bann near Kilrea, co. Derry, in 1849.

A small number agrees in having grooved lines bordering the concave edges of the sides, and enclosing (but not encroaching on) the top and bottom faces. One from Scotland (fig. 44) was found under an inverted cinerary urn at Chapelton Farm, North Ayrshire (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, ix, 386; Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 149); and there is on this account less hesitation in assigning the Crichie example to the cremation period. A Bronze Age cemetery at Fossil Grove, Whiteinch, Glasgow (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lvii, 105) yielded a similar example, but the nature of the burial was not determined. A larger one, without the grooved lines, is published from Wick, Caithness (Evans, fig. 136 A), and though from the extreme north serves to link the Crichie and the Bann river types. As yet there is nothing but the outline and ornament to date the latter group.

[1] Two views on a small scale are given in *Horae Ferales*, pl. III, no. 13.

Sir William Ridgeway recently drew the attention of the British Academy to the Irish series, and, in support of his theory that the people who made and used them came from Scandinavia, via the north and west of Scotland, to Ireland (the original Scots), quoted an unfinished example of this type from Stromness, Orkney (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxii, 320). The outline is complete, but the perforation only just begun: the length is $5\frac{3}{4}$ in., that from Wick being $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. long. Mr. W. J. Knowles had two specimens of the type, and a third with the boring unfinished, all from the bed of the Bann. One measuring $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. and much like fig. 42 is illustrated in *Proc. R. Irish Academy*, xxx, section C, pl. xix, fig. 127, see p. 220.

A peculiar double-axe found at Skudesnes, Ryfylke, Norway, is called a British type by our Hon. Fellow Dr. Shetelig (*Primitive Tider i Norge*, p. 242); though it would be safer to compare it with the river Bann type, which occurs

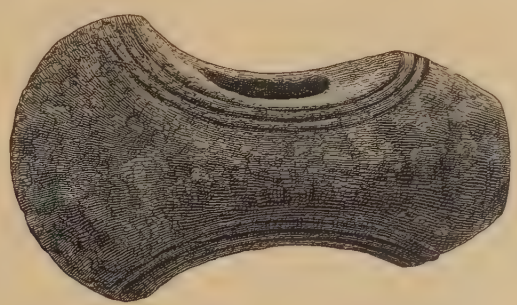


Fig. 44. Axe-head, Chapelton Farm, N. Ayrshire. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

in Ireland and Scotland, but not in England. It measures just over 4 in. in length, and the side view shows spade-shaped ends, the thicker being apparently damaged, but more like a hammer than a cutting-edge. The perforation is, as usual in Scandinavia, towards the thicker end, not in the middle of the waist or thin central portion.

The rich decoration of the chalcedony specimen at Edinburgh, from Maesmore, Corwen, Merionethshire (Evans, fig. 153) suggests a similar date for this and other examples of what may be called the 'pestle' type. They are not axe-hammers in the strict sense, but may be mentioned here as the perforation seems to be perfectly straight in all cases, and this may be regarded in itself as a late feature. The origin of the type is not far to seek, and the Society has already published the theory that it was a reproduction in stone of a type previously made from the basal portion of a stag's antler (*Archaeologia*, lxix, 6). Besides the three with lattice pattern there figured, there is another of antler and one of flint (like that in *Archaeologia*, lxix, pl. 1, no. 9) with the same facetted decoration in the London Museum; and, where form and decoration agree, there is probably but little difference in date, though the idea can be traced

back to the Early Neolithic period in Denmark (*Mém. Soc. Ant. Nord*, 1902–7, p. 183, fig. 5). One in the national collection is here illustrated for reference (fig. 45), but there are very few of this type accompanying a burial of any kind. One of antler was discovered in a round barrow of the Towthorpe group, E. R., Yorks., with a human skeleton, a lozenge arrow-head, and a half-polished celt (Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, p. 28, figs. 56, 63, 64). An example in grey granite came from a chambered cairn at Ormiegill, Caithness, where it was associated with burnt human bones (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vii, 499); and another was found with two flint knives in the northern compartment of a chambered cist on Tormore Farm, Mauchrie Moor, Arran (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxvi, 100).

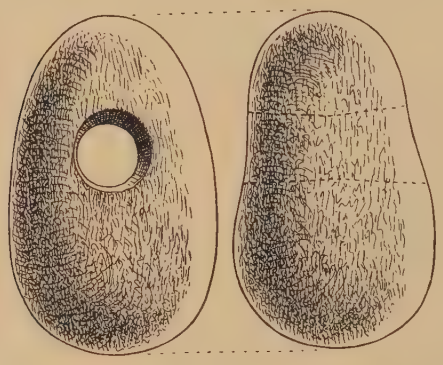


Fig. 45. Hammer of pestle type, St. Andrews, Scotland. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Fig. 46. Cushion type, Twickenham. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Perforated with the same precision and finished with the same perfection is the 'cushion'-type (fig. 46), oblong in plan, with faces convex in both directions and the ends intentionally blunted. This, too, has been discussed in *Archaeologia*, lxix, 8, pl. 1, no. 8, and several examples cited from different parts of Britain, one of the anomalies of this type being its occurrence as far apart as the Thames and the Shetlands, with intermediate sites in Scotland. The perforation passes from one broad face to the other, and the weapon was evidently a mace, more ornamental than useful, as the stone is frequently black with white veins and the workmanship perfect. A hint as to the origin of this type is given by an oval specimen of smooth red stone approaching a cylinder, which suggests a pebble already worn to the shape required and turned into a mace-head by perforation: it came from a grave in co. Wexford, and is now in the British Museum.

Undoubtedly of Danish origin is an axe-hammer (fig. 47) in the Sturge collection at the British Museum from Peterborough, the first good landing-

place on the border of the Fens. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and has the characteristic dip below the cutting-edge, like the Danish example on a somewhat larger scale in the same museum (fig. 48). The top views are in close agreement, showing

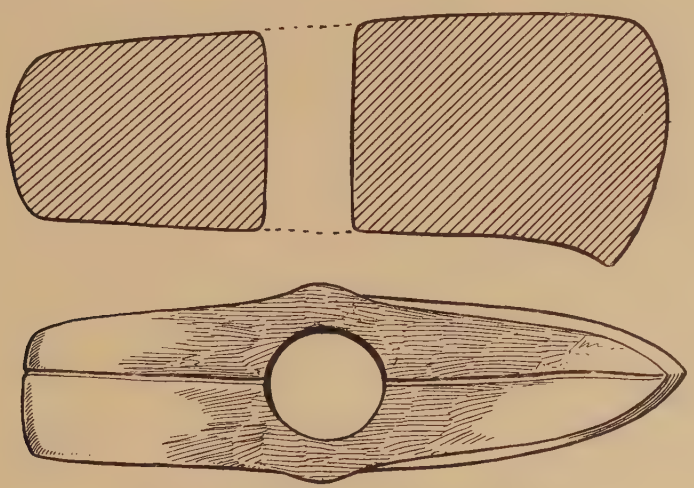


Fig. 47. Axe-hammer, Peterborough. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

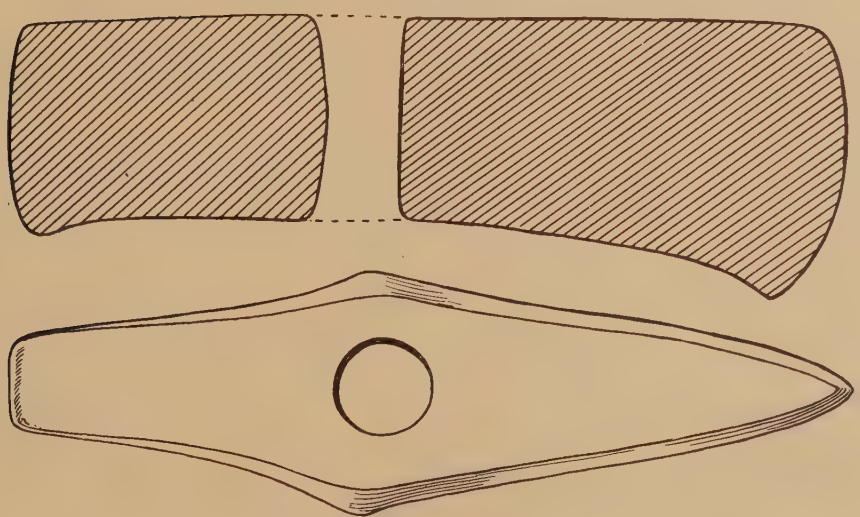


Fig. 48. Axe-hammer, Denmark. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

a rib on either side in a line with the perforation; but the Peterborough specimen has also an engraved line along the middle as decoration, slightly crooked at the butt-end. Comparison may be made with fig. 32 from Jutland in Nils Åberg's paper (p. 29).

The Peterborough find not only indicates some connexion with Denmark when this type was in vogue, but by its very strangeness emphasizes the contrast

between the main British and Danish series, Fredsgård being the only well-represented type common to both, but probably due to the common use of a metal prototype, and not necessarily to any racial connexion.

Axe-hammers are more numerous and better dated in North Germany and Scandinavia, and points of contact with Britain would be useful as well as interesting. Apart from one or two important specimens, there is little in common between our own and the continental series; but that little is all the more significant. The fine specimen from Snowshill, Gloucestershire, must have a family connexion with two double-axes illustrated by Åberg—his fig. 9 from the neighbourhood of Hamburg and his fig. 12 from Zealand, Denmark. Except for the expanded ends, the top and bottom are almost parallel, the plan a long, pointed oval, and the perforation towards the wider or butt end. It is clear that the butt gradually thickened in the Danish series, but the Snowshill axe, though blunted at the butt, does not follow the same line of evolution, and contact (if it existed at all, and was not really derivation from a common source) must have ceased at an early stage—that is, during the period of the chambered graves which are generally equated with our long barrows. Associated objects at Snowshill show that the interment belongs to an early (but not the earliest) stage of our Bronze Age; but on the other hand the butt is slightly thickened, and probably represents a subsequent development of the Scandinavian double-axes, so that on this reading of the evidence there is no serious chronological difficulty.

It should, however, be added that Dr. A. W. Brøgger (*Vestland*, pp. 60, 68, 84) gives horn, copper, stone, as the chronological order of materials used for axe-hammers, and assigns the series based on the copper axe (fig. 7) to the chambered-barrow period at the latest (European Copper Age), the boat-shaped axes being a later local development in Scandinavia and dating mostly from the Cist period (last phase of the Neolithic), though they began about the middle of the preceding chambered-barrow period, about 2900 B.C. (his p. 71). On this reckoning the Kennet type, which is clearly based on a copper or bronze model, would be nearer 3000 than 2000 B.C.; and as it is proved by associated objects to belong to our Bronze Age (*Antiq. Journ.*, i, 128), like the Snowshill type, it will be seen that there is a considerable discrepancy. There is some reason to believe that Britain was in the Copper or Bronze Age during the neolithic Cist period of Scandinavia (*Proceedings*, xxxii, 19); and the flint daggers (*Mém. du Nord*, 1916–17, 228) confirm the evidence of the axe-hammers, which is, however, difficult to reconcile with the current chronology.

Some adjustment is rendered possible by a growing tendency to put back the knowledge and partial use of copper to the period of the passage-graves in Scandinavia; and the late Knut Stjerna was quite clear on this point (*Före*

Hällkisttiden, p. 101). Dr. Brøgger expressed himself in a similar manner in *Vestland*, p. 85; and according to Anathon Björn, also of Oslo, it is not at all certain that the simple perforated axe belongs to the pure Stone Age (*Stenalderstudien*, p. 38). This view renders the problem less formidable, but does not remove the chief difficulty.

The following table shows the principal cases of agreement and disagreement between the prehistoric cultures on either side of the North Sea, and suggests some radical defects of classification. There is such close agreement in some respects that it is difficult to believe that other features are diametrically opposed; and though the British evidence is not conclusive, a solution may be attempted in a considerable reduction of date for the megalithic or latest Neolithic phase of Scandinavia. Britain could, and no doubt did, supply enough raw material for internal needs, and in the early Bronze Age certainly exported finished celts to Sweden, which depended for its bronze on foreign supplies. The subject has recently come under discussion in Denmark and Norway, and the British evidence may prove to be the deciding factor. The weapons called axe-hammers in this paper are generally known abroad as battle-axes.

Britain.	*Denmark and S. Sweden.*
No battle-axes in long barrows (equivalent to passage-graves).	Many battle-axes in passage-graves, about 2500–2000 B. C. (other patterns in 'single'-graves).
Battle-axes found all through the Bronze Age (at least as many after as before beginning of cremation).	Battle-axes cease before the beginning of the Bronze Age.
Flint daggers before battle-axes (though they overlap).	Flint daggers after battle-axes (in Slesvig flint daggers found above the latest battle-axes).
Flint daggers not with bronze, and correspond to *early* foreign specimens.	Flint daggers, sometimes with bronze: most in late passage-graves and cists, their period being *c.* 2200–1800.
Beakers with flint daggers may be Copper Age (before 2000 B. C.).	Cord-pattern beakers are before the end of the Neolithic (found in early 'single'-graves).
Beaker people absorbed by the indigenous population.	'Single'-grave (beaker) people absorbed at end of Neolithic: thought to be the first Aryans.
No burials with thick-butted celts (only a few stray imported specimens).	Daggers in late 'single'-graves after thick-butted celts and generally before bronze, marking fusion of megalithic and 'single'-grave peoples (thick butted found with Jutland battle-axes).

Dr. C. A. Nordman, who has written on the Giants' graves or passage-graves of Denmark (*Fættestuer i Danmark*), now thinks that daggers (including the later varieties) are common to the last phase of the passage-graves, to the cists, and the 'single'-graves of Denmark, the cists corresponding to the last quarter and the 'single'-graves to the second half of the Passage-grave period and all preceding the Age of Bronze; but he adds that copper was known at least as early as the first passage-graves. Hence, though the scarcity of metal may not justify a Copper Age for Scandinavia, the Passage-grave period was contemporary with the Copper Age in certain parts of Europe, perhaps including Britain.

Though the types here and abroad were not identical, it may be stated in general terms, by way of summary, that in Britain flint daggers and beakers preceded battle-axes, and in Scandinavia battle-axes preceded flint daggers and beakers; and no modification of the chronology on either side seems likely to remove the anomaly.

V.—*The Roman House at Keynsham, Somerset.* *By* Arthur Bulleid, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*, *and* Dom Ethelbert Horne, *F.S.A.*

Read 14th May 1925

Keynsham is a village on the high road that runs between Bath and Bristol, and is distant from the latter city about four miles. In the year 1877 the then vicar and churchwardens of Keynsham, finding the graveyard round the parish church incapable of either receiving any more burials or of being enlarged, purchased two and a half acres of ground to make a public cemetery. This was situated a quarter of a mile beyond the village, on the Bristol side, and was part of the fine stretch of meadow-land that borders the river Avon, being known as the Hams. Two mortuary chapels were built, adjoining one another, in the centre of the new cemetery, and the ground was thickly planted with trees. After the purchase of the land, the owner of a property adjoining it on its western side managed to get an embargo or restriction placed upon the use of the upper part for burials. The part so restricted was about a third of the original purchase. In 1908 the Parish Council, by the payment of a sum of money, had the restriction removed, but it was not until twelve years afterwards that the site was used for interments.

The restriction laid in 1877 on this portion of the cemetery was the fortunate means of saving a great part of the Roman house that lay within it. All the rest of the ground had been so closely dug for graves that except for the walks left between the rows of interments there was no spare ground remaining.

It is to be regretted that when it was first discovered that the foundations of a Roman house of great size were within the area of the new purchase, no steps were taken to preserve it. That these remains were known to exist in 1877 there is clear evidence. The late Colonel J. R. Bramble, F.S.A., writing to Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., in a letter dated 28th December 1899, says that he made notes when the foundations of the chapel were being put in, in 1877. 'On the other side I send you a copy of my rough sketch made at the time. The "test-hole" which had been put in to try the suitability of the ground for the purpose of interments, was 7 ft. deep. At that depth was a pavement of flat stones. The foundations were excavated 4 ft. 6 in. in depth, when they came upon a pavement of white lias tesserae—no pattern or ornament visible. . . . At one corner, as you will see by the sketch-plan, a portion of a curved foundation

was disclosed. . . . I learnt from a workman that in the lower wall of the cemetery they had crossed another foundation.'

In spite of these indications, burials were begun at once in the lower or eastern half of the cemetery, and they continued for over forty years until a large portion of two magnificent corridors, with their adjacent rooms having finely tessellated floors, were destroyed. In June 1921, one of the writers, hearing by accident of the difficulty of digging graves in the cemetery on account of the existence of old floors that had to be 'bumped through' and of walls that had to be pulled out, visited the place and watched the sexton, who was making a grave, destroy the ends of a flight of steps that came in his way. This was one of some nine or ten graves that had already been made in the upper or western portion of the cemetery, mentioned above.

But the grave-digger was not the only person who had a hand in destroying the remains of this splendid house. Some eighty or a hundred years ago, the high road, which now passes the cemetery on its south-western side, was constructed. The old road had a difficult gradient and at this place it had a curve to the south-west as well. It would seem not altogether improbable, if the old road was on the line of a still older one, that the curve was caused by this important Roman house, which the road avoided, skirting the outside of the property. To-day, the new road takes a straight line and cuts diagonally across it. A reference to the ground-plan (fig. 1) will show this Bristol to Bath road bounding the cemetery on the south-west, and passing across the western and southern corridors of the house. To improve the gradient in the new road, a hill was cut through; the material removed was thrown down on to the new line, and the road raised some 15 ft. on top of it. These wide-spreading embankments are shown in the ground-plan by dotted lines, and it will be seen that the base of the northern bank is in the cemetery itself and buries more than half of the western corridor. Hence, even if the cemetery had not been placed at this spot, and an attempt had been made to save this Roman house, it is clear that a great portion of it never could have been recovered, being so deeply buried beneath the embankment. Having regard to the excellence of the rooms at the two ends of the western corridor, there can be little doubt that some great central rooms half-way between the two ends, of even finer design, lie buried permanently under the road and its supports. On the other side of the high road is a large field, and it was hoped that after the western corridor had passed beneath the road, it would have continued some way into this field before the return corridor began. In this expectation we were disappointed, for no sooner had the corridor emerged than it began to return. It will be seen from the ground-plan that the rooms U, V, and W are partly in the bank, and we had to trespass to get out as much of the fine floor of the latter room as we did.

The whole of the southern corridor is buried except the extreme eastern end of it, which could be found among the graves. No traces of walls were discovered closing in the eastern side of the quadrangle, and the grave-digger

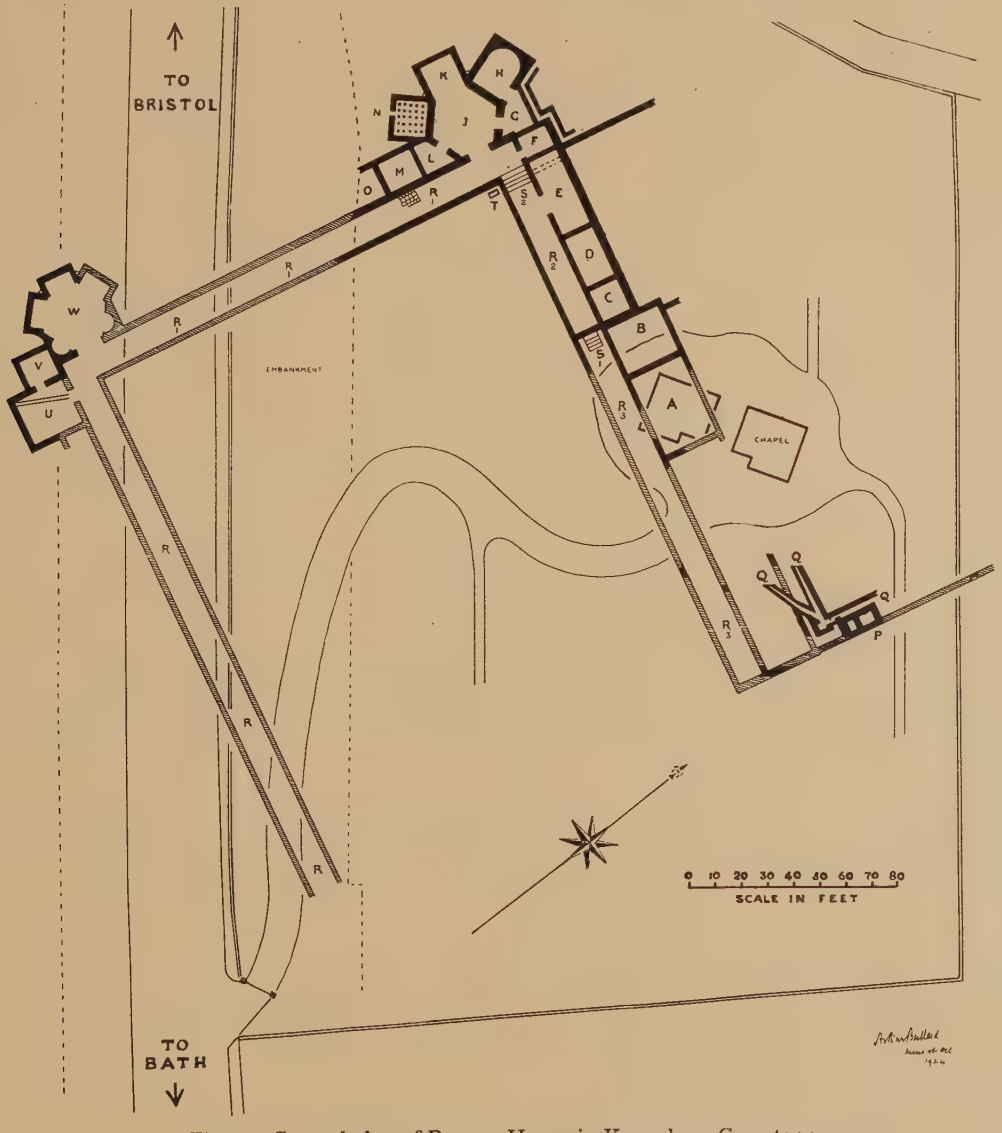


Fig. 1. Ground-plan of Roman House in Keynsham Cemetery.

seemed to be clear that he never encountered walls when making graves on this side.

After the evidence for the existence of a Roman house in the cemetery had been noted, as described above, the next step was to see what could be done to expose and preserve what the grave-diggers had left of it. This was not an

easy matter, as it was thought that by reason of the numerous interments it would be impossible to excavate the place in a way that would be satisfactory. Fortunately, while the project was being considered, an event occurred in the neighbourhood which gave the matter an altogether fresh turn. Messrs. Fry & Sons of Bristol had begun building their new factory at Keynsham by the side of the Avon. They had purchased a considerable stretch of the Hams, and the foundations for their first block of buildings had just been put in. While making these preparations, the walls of a small Roman house were encountered (see Appendix), and, at a short distance away, two very fine stone coffins containing a male and female skeleton respectively were found.[1] The coffins were on view for some time and roused considerable local interest, and it was this important find at Messrs. Fry's which influenced the Keynsham Parish Council in favour of allowing excavations to be made in the public cemetery. The writers would like to put on record the exceptionally enlightened attitude of the Parish Council in this delicate matter. From the first, and throughout the three years the excavations were in progress, they gave every help in their power, and through their chairman, Mr. G. E. Chappell, and their clerk, Mr. C. H. Abbott, removed difficulties that might easily have stopped the work through the somewhat close invasion of the graves, and themselves took the keenest personal interest in the excavations from first to last. To another gentleman, Mr. E. W. Hilton, architect to Messrs. Fry & Sons, the committee were also under great obligations, for he obtained from his Directors, free of cost, all the plant needed for the excavation, and so interested his firm in the work that they were substantial benefactors to it as well.

The committee that had been formed, as soon as the Parish Council had given their permission for the excavation, consisted chiefly of Keynsham residents with the addition of Mr. H. St. George Gray as representing the Somerset Archaeological Society, with Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., as chairman. The writers were also on the committee, and to Mr. Arthur Bulleid, F.S.A., fell the making of all plans and measurements, the photographs being taken by his fellow worker, Dom Ethelbert Horne, F.S.A., who made the business arrangements and collected the funds, the general direction of the excavations being undertaken jointly.

The work began on 11th September 1922 and continued for a month, finishing on 9th October. In the following year digging began on 11th June and concluded on 7th July. The excavations were completed in fourteen days in 1924, digging having been begun on 19th July. During the whole of the above periods the work was supervised by the writers, one or other of whom was always with the workmen.

[1] *Antiquaries Journal*, ii, 371.

The following is a detailed description of the corridors and rooms:

The North Corridor (fig. 1, R 2, R 3). The total length of the north corridor was 209 ft. 6 in. and it was approximately 10 ft. in width. The walls averaged 2 ft. in thickness. The south side of this corridor was probably open to a central courtyard, whilst along the north were arranged suites of rooms and probably the chief baths belonging to the establishment. On account of the slope of the ground the level of the corridor was maintained by two flights of steps, dividing it into two distinct sections.

The eastern or lower part of the corridor (R 3) measured 146 ft. 6 in. in length up to the transverse wall which was flush with the back of the uppermost step of the first flight (S 1). This portion was paved throughout with squares of pennant stone, which with few exceptions were badly cracked. The slabs varied considerably in size, the largest being 3 ft. by 2 ft. 3 in.

The western or upper part of the corridor (R 2) situated between the two flights of steps was 63 ft. in length, this measurement including the depth of the upper set of steps. It was paved throughout with tesserae: the chief features consisted of bands of blue tesserae, arranged in a series of rectangular fret designs, enclosing small central panels of the guilloche pattern. The guilloche panels measured 18 in. by 9 in., and were composed of small red, white, blue, and brown cubes. The red tesserae were of terra-cotta, the others probably being obtained from lias beds and pennant quarries near the site. The walls were originally plastered and decorated: many fragments of plaster were found coloured red, whilst other pieces were adorned with buff and greenish-coloured bands 1 in. in width.

The Lower Set of Steps (pl. xi, fig. 1). The lower set of steps in the north corridor was made of Bath stone, and the treads of all the steps were considerably worn. This was more apparent in the lowermost step where the concavity measured 5 in.

The width of the steps was 4 ft. 3½ in., with a total rise of 2 ft. 10½ in., and the dimensions of the steps were as follows: The top step had a depth of 18 in., with a rise of 7 in. The tread of step 2 was 15 in. in depth, with a rise of 8½ in. The tread of step 3 was 17½ in. in depth, with a rise of 7½ in. The tread of step 4 was 17 in. in depth, with a rise of 11½ in.

On either side of the steps was a recess 2 ft. 10 in. in width, ending in a transverse wall flush with the back of the upper step. At 13 in. above the level of the corridor pavement this transverse wall was strengthened by a set-off 8 in. in depth. The transverse wall was carried up 2 ft. 1 in. above the set-off, and measured 1 ft. 8½ in. in thickness across the top.

The Upper Set of Steps (pl. xi, fig. 2). Although only two and a part of

a third step remained, there were undoubtedly four steps originally. Each step was composed of several massive blocks of Bath stone about 3 ft. in width, and unlike the lower flight extended across the entire width of the corridor. The treads showed much wear, the depression being 1½ in. and 3½ in. in the third and fourth steps respectively. The lowermost step had a tread 12 in. in depth, and a rise of 6 in. The third step had a tread of 17 in. in depth, and a rise of 7 in. The second step was incomplete; the tread was 17 in. in depth, and there was a rise of 10 in. The first or uppermost step was missing, but from the levels that were taken of the two corridors immediately above and below the steps, it was ascertained that the rise of this step must have been at least 9 in. The total rise of the four steps was therefore approximately 2 ft. 7 in.

Masonry East of the Cemetery Chapel. There were few opportunities of examining the ground lying east of the chapel, as this part of the cemetery was thickly studded with modern burials, the grass walks between the graves and one small reserved area being about the only available places for excavating, besides the gravel paths. The digging that was carried out in this restricted area was, however, of much importance, for we were able to determine the length of the north corridor. Lying northward of the extreme east end of the north corridor, two drains (Q) were encountered constructed of pennant stone converging in an east and north-east direction. One foot beyond the junction there was a sump hole 3 ft. square, and from this the drain was continued northwards. Situated to the east of the last-named section of the drain were two small rectangular-walled areas (P), presumably the sites of lavatories.

From the massive way in which the drains were built, it can only be supposed that baths were somewhere in the immediate vicinity. The largest part of the drain was 18 in. in width, and was paved and capped with squared slabs of pennant. The portion of the drain running in a north-east direction passed diagonally through the foundation of a wall. The earth in this part of the cemetery for the depth of 2 ft. was dark grey or black and contained considerable quantities of broken pottery. The natural colour of the soil is bright red.

Room A. This large room situated on the north side of the north corridor was almost completely concealed by the cemetery chapel. It measured 30 ft. in length by 19 ft. in width, and is covered by the chapel except at the south-west corner. The question whether the whole of the 30 ft. belonged to one room, or if it were divided by a wall into two rooms, is a matter now past elucidation on account of the building over it. The floor at the west side of the room was undoubtedly covered by a very fine pavement, if we may judge by the piece exposed during the recent excavations outside the south-west corner of the chapel. Here a large square of intricate fret pattern was disclosed, having the central part mutilated, doubtless by a hole dug for a scaffold-pole.

Fig. 1. Lower Steps, N. Corridor

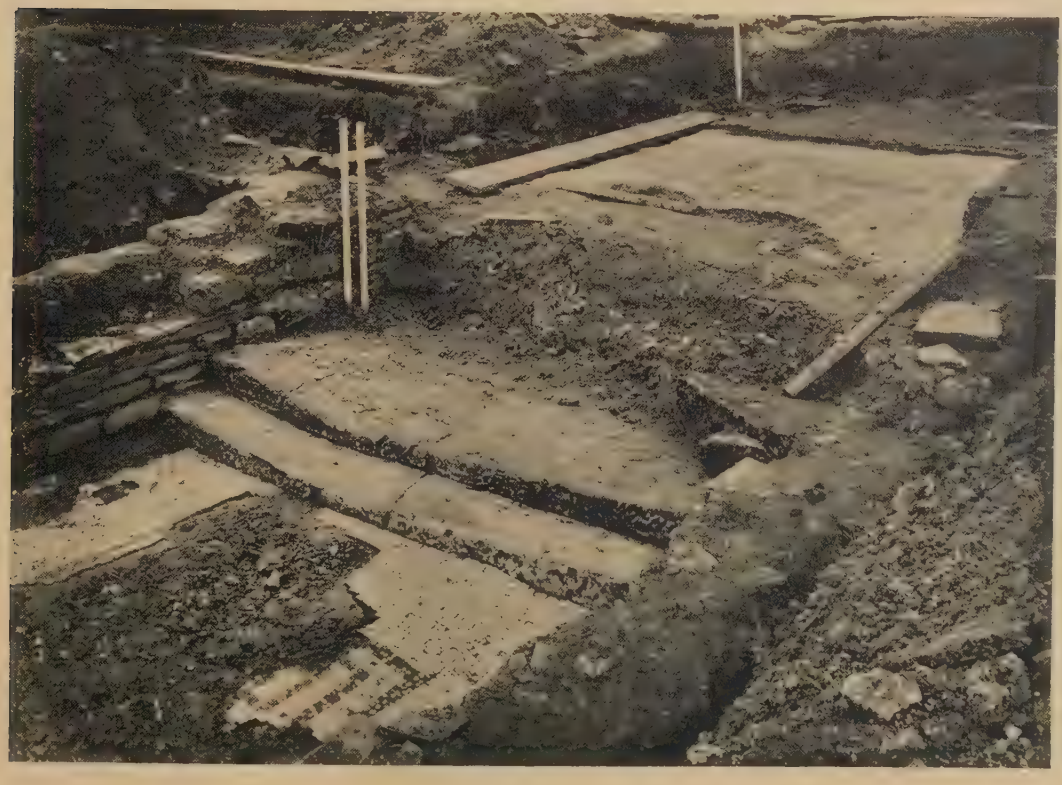


Fig. 2. Upper Steps, N. Corridor

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

Fig. 1. Room H

Fig. 2. Room J

Further evidence, although slight, regarding the pavement was obtained by the removal of one or two flooring boards in the chapel; this, however, only proved the existence of tesserae, for space and light did not permit of other disclosures being made.

Room B. This room, situated at the north side of the lower flight of steps (S 1), was on the same level as the adjoining room (A). Its dimensions were 19 ft. in length by 18 ft. in width; the entrance, which was in the south wall, measured 7 ft. in width and led into the north corridor. The wall on the west side, however, was incomplete and the original width may have been considerably less. With reference to this west wall it should be mentioned that the wall was faced on the corridor side with squared pieces of Bath stone, the only instance of ashlar work noticed during the excavations. No pavement was discovered in this room.

Lying to the north of room B were the foundations of another room or corridor paved with pennant slabs, but as these structures were covered by the carriage drive to the chapel, they could not be excavated.

Room C. This room measured 12 ft. in length by 11 ft. in width, and was situated immediately above the lower flight of steps on the north side of the north corridor (R 2). The thickness of the walls varied from 23 in. to 2 ft. 6 in.

Nothing of particular interest was found in this room; the floor was probably paved with pennant slabs, a few of which remained. Part of the wall on the south side was occupied by a grave, and the position of the entrance to this room was not ascertained.

Room D. This room was situated on the north side of the corridor (R 2). Its dimensions were 18 ft. 6 in. in length by 11 ft. in width. The thickness of the walls was as follows: north 23 in., south and east 2 ft., and west 18 in. No tesserae were found, and the floor was probably paved with slabs of pennant. The interior of this room was not cleared, on account of the proximity of recent graves and the difficulty of wheeling out the earth and debris. When tracing the walls many fragments of box flue-tiles were discovered, and although neither stoke-hole nor pilae were found there is little doubt that it was heated by a hypocaust. The entrance to this room was not located.

Room E. This room was situated on the north side of the north corridor (R 2). The dimensions were 29 ft. in length by 11 ft. in width. The entrance was in the south wall leading into the corridor, and measured 4 ft. 6 in. in width. A stone water-channel passed across the upper part of this room presumably under the floor, and perforated the north wall. It is probable, therefore, that at the entrance there was originally a step up from the corridor, although no evidence of this was noticed. The floor, which was paved with tesserae, was destroyed. Numbers of cubes were lying about wherever the floor-level was reached.

Two feet east from the outlet of the water-channel, a wall was uncovered 20 in. in width, and traced in a northerly direction for 32 ft. 6 in., when the foundations came to an end. This wall was perforated at the south extremity where it joined the wall of room E. The hole was not well built, for the upper stone, arching the space, had fallen and was found not to have been let into the adjoining wall. The hole was on a slightly higher level than the opening of the water-channel.

Room F. This room was situated at the north end of the west corridor (R 1), immediately above the upper flight of steps. Its dimensions were 11 ft. in length by 8 ft. 6 in. in width. The entrance was in the south wall leading into the corridor and measured 4 ft. in width. The thickness of the north, south, and west walls was 2 ft. and of the east wall 18 in. The floor was originally paved with tesserae, but the concrete foundation was the only part that remained.

Room G. The general plan of this room was triangular, although strictly speaking it was four-sided. It was situated at the north-east side of the hexagon room J. The maximum length and width were 13 ft. 9 in. and 12 ft. respectively. It had two entrances, one 4 ft. in width leading into room J, the second, 5 ft. wide, into the apsidal room H. The floor was originally paved with coarse and medium-sized tesserae similar to the floor of the triangular room L on the opposite side of the hexagon room. All traces of the pattern had disappeared, but many of the cubes were lying about, and the fine cement covering the concrete showed their impressions here and there.

Room H (pl. XII, fig. 1). The apse room measured 16 ft. 4¼ in. in length by 12 ft. 8 in. in width. The walls were 2 ft. in thickness, with the exception of that bordering the south side, which was 2 ft. 6 in. The entrance to the room was 5 ft. wide, situated in the east wall, and led to the triangular lobby or room G.

The floor was covered with a fine pavement much mutilated when discovered. The chief features of the design were the following: a square measuring 12 ft. by 8 ft. 10½ in. was surrounded by an area of coarse white tesserae from 22½ in. to 29¼ in. in width. The square was bordered by a band of blue and another of white tesserae; both bands measured 2¼ in. in width and were composed of three rows of cubes. Inside these was a broad and handsome band of plait 9 in. in width, in four colours, followed by a band of fine white tesserae in four rows measuring 1¾ in. in width. This framework enclosed six octagonal panels of 30 in. in diameter, each face being approximately 13 in. The panels were surrounded by bands of cable pattern 5 in. in width. In the centre of each panel was a circle, 15 in. in diameter, containing a design either of interlacings or of leaves in blue and red cubes set in a white background. Surrounding this inner circle was a thin 1 in. band of blue tesserae enclosed by a band of

wave pattern, 5 in. in width. The angular spaces at the corners of the square and along the sides were filled with a triangle of red tesserae. The two diamond-shaped spaces in the middle of the pavement were so mutilated that the pattern they contained was unrecognizable (fig. 2).

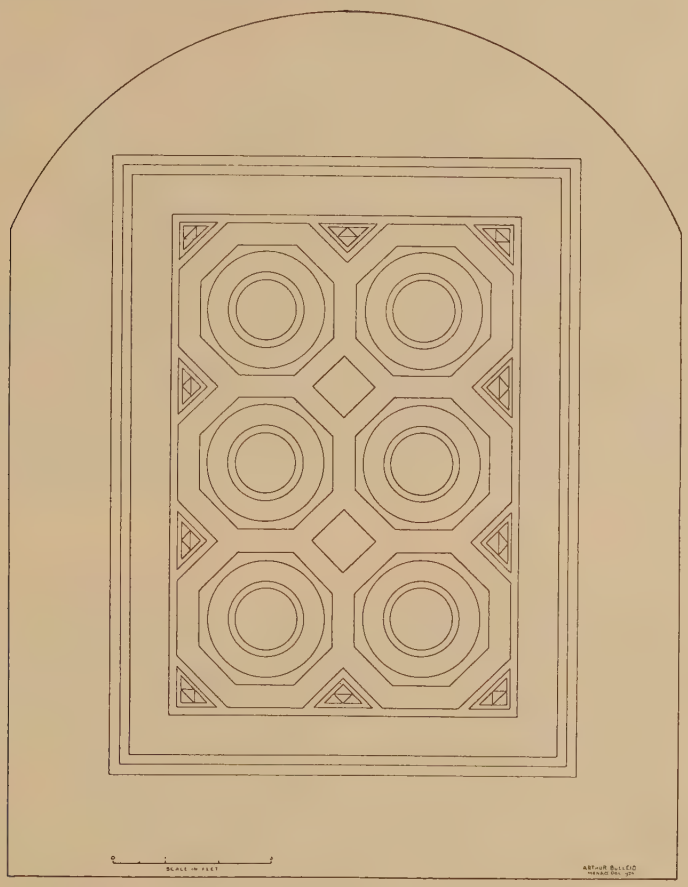


Fig. 2. Room H : plan of pavement.

Small pieces of plaster remained at one or two places on the walls, but the surface was destroyed and no clue as to the colouring was obtained. Two coins were found in clearing the floor of this room.

Room J (pl. XII, fig. 2). This was a large and important room of hexagonal shape, each of the sides measuring from 12 ft. 3 in. to 12 ft. 6 in. The maximum diameter of the room from angle to angle was 24 ft. 6 in.

All the walls were 2 ft. 6 in. in thickness with the exception of that on the south-east, which was 2 ft. The west boundary of the hexagon led into the annex room K. There was no dividing wall, the whole side being open and presumably arched over. The accumulation of debris covering the floor was

occasionally 3 ft. in depth, and composed of the following layers: below the soil, which was from 1 ft. to 18 in. in depth, was a thick layer or heap of tufa embedded in the remains of wall-plaster and mortar 2 ft. in depth. The tufa was frequently found in large squared blocks, some of which were nearly complete and measured 15 in. in length, from 9 to 10 in. in depth, and 4 in. in thickness. Under this substance like concrete was a thin layer of black earth containing much charcoal from 2 to 3 in. in depth, and between this and the tessellated floor was a layer of fine lime material from 3 in. to 6 in. in depth. The tufa layer was restricted to the area of this room, none being noticed in any of the adjoining rooms.

Several human bones belonging to one body[1] were found amongst the blocks of tufa. The entrances to this room were probably five, counting the whole west side opening into the annex room (K). The entrance to room N was in the south-west wall, but as the wall was destroyed down to the floor-level the width and exact position were not ascertained. The entrance to room G has already been mentioned, and that leading into L is given in the description of that room. The main entrance was doubtless through the east wall from the west corridor, but as this wall was destroyed down to, and at places below, the level of the floor, the dimensions cannot be given.

The floor was originally covered with a fine geometric pattern, and although when uncovered it was found to be much mutilated, still enough of the details remained to make a plan of the design (fig. 3). Fortunately the central portion was nearly complete (pl. XIII, fig. 1), and a tessellated panel of unusual interest and beauty was rescued from ultimate destruction by grave-digging. Taken as a whole, the pavement was a large hexagon following the shape of the room, and surrounded by a border of large white tesserae, 1 ft. 8 in. in width. The scheme of the design thus enclosed consisted of a central hexagon panel 5 ft. 1 in. in diameter, with sides measuring 2 ft. 11 in., surrounded by six panels of similar shape and size. A large lozenge-shaped panel filled each of the intervening angles and completed the sides of the outer hexagon, which was framed in bands of dark grey, white, and guilloche. The central panel was occupied by a series of patterns arranged in concentric circles. The middle of the panel was filled with a conventional rose, bordered by a band 1 in. wide of dark grey tesserae in two rows. The centre of the flower was $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. The tesserae were arranged in concentric circles worked in shades ranging from dark brown to white, and outlined by a single line of dark grey cubes. This was surrounded by six rounded petals shaded in light greys and buff, and also outlined with a single line of dark grey. These were in turn encircled by a calyx of twelve divisions alternately pointed and oval, shaded in

[1] These were of the date of the ruin, and in no way connected with the modern cemetery.

Fig. 1. Room J

Fig. 2. Room K

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Fig. 1. Room N

Fig. 2. Hearth in W. Corridor

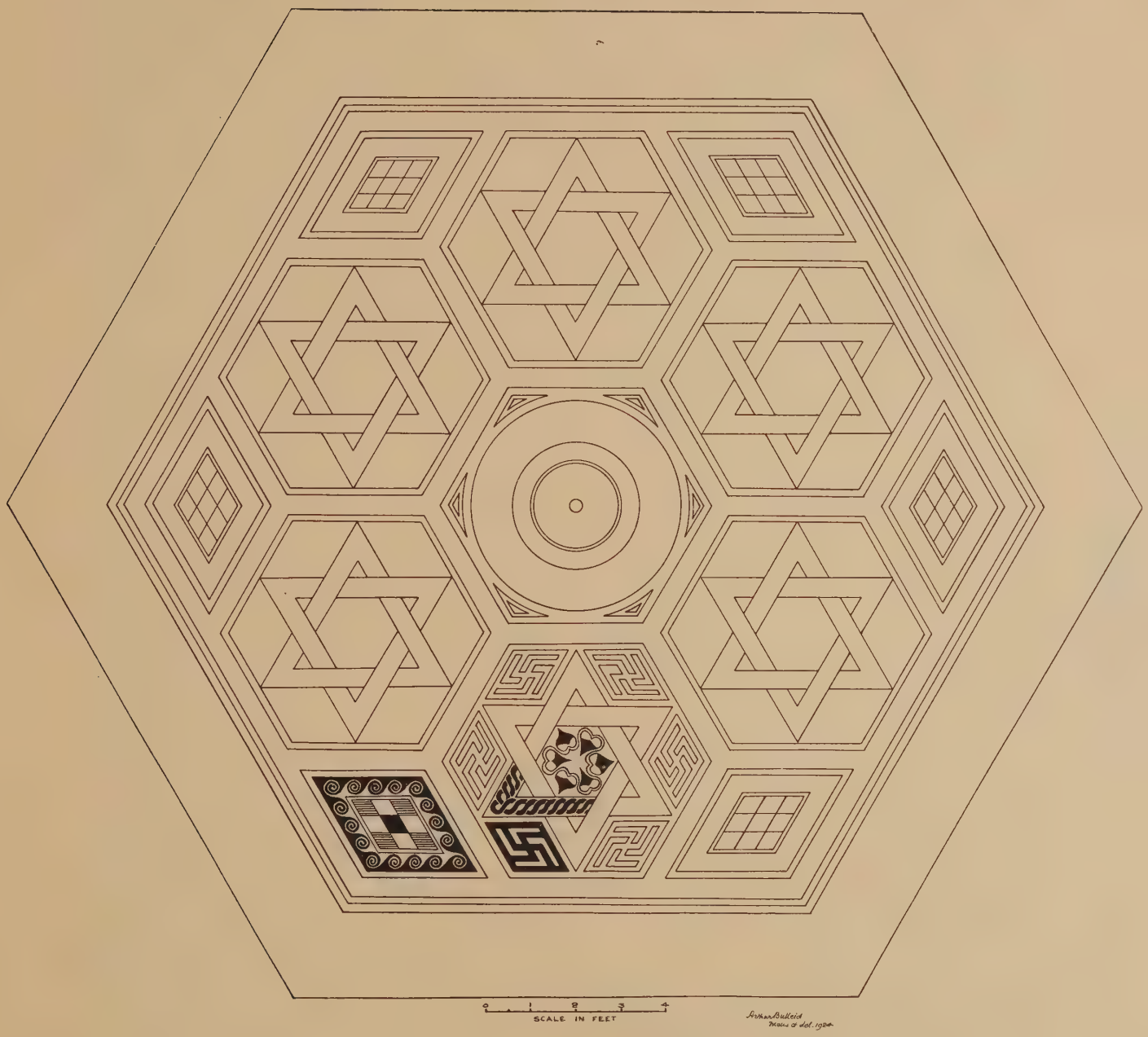

Fig. 3. Room J : plan of pavement.

gradations of red and brown respectively. The central floriated design was surrounded by a band 9 in. in width, divided into twenty-three cusp-shaped spaces outlined in dark grey, the outer line of semicircles being filled with white tesserae, and the inner divisions shaded with radiating lines of red, buff, and white. The outer band of the central panel was 11¼ in. in width, and was filled with a very beautiful example of the chain pattern, the links being shaded in gradations of grey, buff, and white, and the central angular spaces in red and buff. The whole design was surrounded by a background of white tesserae, the spandrels at the angles of the hexagon being occupied with triangles worked in dark grey and white cubes. The central panel was outlined by a band of guilloche 5 in. in width, as were also all the other details of the main design.

The surrounding six hexagons were of similar size to the central panel, and were filled by two large interlacing triangles composed of bands of guilloche pattern 5 in. in width, the distinguishing features of one triangle being red, and of the other a grey colouring. The six small lozenge-shaped spaces filling the angles of each hexagon were occupied by a swastika pattern, and the small centre hexagon formed by the interlacing triangles was filled with a pattern of conventional foliage. The large lozenge-shaped spaces at the angles of the outer or great hexagon measured 2 ft. 10 in. each way, and were filled with a window pattern of nine panes, the central square being filled with grey tesserae, the others alternately with red and white. The window was surrounded with a band 5 in. in width of wave pattern worked in dark grey and white, and framed by a band of white. The rose pattern of the central panel was of fine workmanship, the majority of the cubes being one-quarter of an inch in size, and embedded in a white cement.

Several large angular dents were observed in the tessellated floor, presumably produced by the fall of heavy squared stones or beams.

Room K (pl. XIII, fig. 2). The annex to room J was situated west of this room and approached by an opening extending the whole width of the apartment. The entrance was either spanned by a beam, or arched over from wall to wall, no evidence of side columns being found. The floors of both rooms were at the same level. Room K measured 13 ft. 6 in. in length by 12 ft. 3 in. in width, the three retaining walls being 2 ft. in thickness. Some wall-plaster still adhered to the south wall, but the surface colouring was defaced.

The room was paved with tesserae, but the pattern was so mutilated that only about one-third remained. At the entrance was a narrow rectangular panel 9 ft. in length, containing six circles filled with conventional foliage. Adjoining this was a panel 9 ft. square, bordered on the north and south sides by an area of coarse white tesserae 18 in. in width, and at the west end 4 ft. in width. The panel was framed in bands of dark grey and white tesserae, enclosing

a band of guilloche pattern 5 in. in width. The chief details of the design filling the interior were a circular band of guilloche which was cleverly incorporated with the same pattern at the sides of the frame. Within the circle were three interlacing figures of eight bands of guilloche worked in distinguishing colours, a central hexagon formed by these bands containing a wreathed head or mask. The spaces formed by the interlacing bands were apparently occupied with conventional foliage and other designs. The triangular spaces at the corners of the panel were either filled with two superimposed triangles of different sizes or with a cup. The whole interior design was evidently set out upon a line drawn through the north-west and south-east corners of the panel, and in doing so the sides of the central hexagon were not set straight with the long axis of the room, and consequently the wreathed head was tilted to the north of the middle line, producing an effect that no doubt marred the symmetry of an otherwise attractive design (fig. 4).

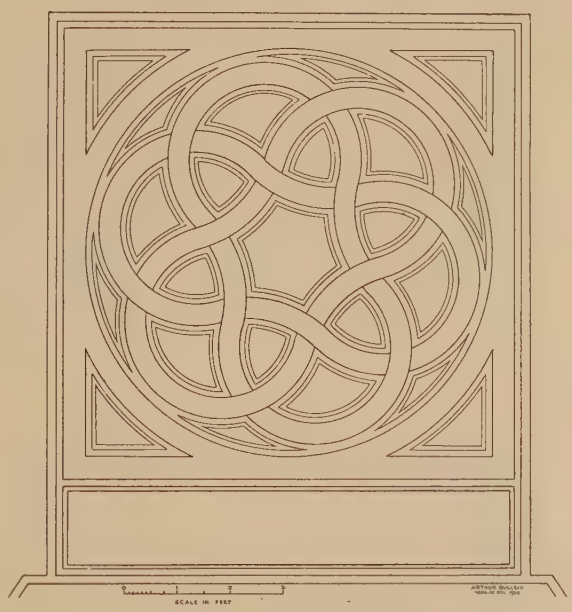

Fig. 4. Room K: plan of pavement.

Room N (pl. XIV, fig. 1). This room was situated south of the hexagon (room J), and measured 12 ft. 3 in. in length by 11 ft. 9 in. in width. The walls were 2 ft. thick except that adjoining room J, which was 2 ft. 6 in. There were no indications of the entrance into the hexagon as the walls had been levelled to the floor. If we may judge by the number of quarter-inch tesserae that were found in the debris, the floor must have been paved with a design of a particularly fine and unusual description, but the whole of it had been totally destroyed. The wall-plaster of this room was white. Room N was heated by a hypocaust. The pilae were twenty-five in number, placed 16 in. apart, and made of bricks 9 in. to 9½ in. square and 1½ in. thick. They rested on a concrete floor and none of them was complete. They were apparently capped with bricks 16 in. square, many fragments of these being found amongst the debris. The stoke-hole was outside the south wall of the room, but the walls of this structure were destroyed. It was evidently a small lean-to building, as there was no evidence of any structure having been tied into the main wall. The flue-hole was 18 in. square, and placed towards the west end of the south wall near the second row of pilae. Quantities of charcoal were found in the flue-hole and in the ground outside the room.

Room L. This room was triangular in shape and situated at the south-east side of the north hexagonal room J. It had the following dimensions: south wall 11 ft. 3 in., east wall 11 ft., west wall 5 ft., north-west wall 12 ft. 6 in. The entrance to the room was 4 ft. wide and placed near the middle of the north-west wall leading into room J. The floor was paved with coarse tesserae. The central panel which followed the shape of the room was incomplete when discovered, measured 7 ft. 1 in. in length by 5 ft. 6 in. in width, and was surrounded by an area 22 in. wide of coarse white cubes 1 in. square. The panel was framed by a band of blue tesserae, and the chief features of the design were two dolphins and a large (two) handled cup. The dolphins were about 4 ft. in length, one occupying the west angle, and the other being placed parallel with the east border. The dolphins had white eyes and red mouths, fins, and forked tails. The bodies were outlined with single lines of blue and red tesserae, and the central part filled with lines of grey and white cubes.

The cup was approximately 3 ft. 3 in. in height and placed midway between the dolphins. The mouth of the cup was outlined with a single line of blue and red tesserae, and the middle filled in with three rows of white and four rows of blue arranged in concentric circles. The body of the cup was treated in the same way, with the exception that the white cubes appeared in the middle. The handles were probably depicted in blue tesserae throughout, but only a portion of one remained.

In the corner of the panel there was a large heart-shaped leaf, outlined in blue tesserae, with a curved stalk of the same colour. The interior of the leaf was divided transversely into two nearly equal parts filled with white and red tesserae, the latter occupying the pointed half.

Room M. This room was situated on the west side of the west corridor, and measured 12 ft. 6 in. in length by 11 ft. 3 in. in width.

The walls surrounding it were 2 ft. in thickness on the south and west, 21 in. along the north side, and 2 ft. 6 in. on the east or corridor side. With reference to the last-named wall, the south part had been removed down to the set-off of the foundation, and the entrance to this room obliterated. This room was originally paved with tesserae, but the entire floor was found destroyed, with numbers of the cubes lying about but none *in situ*. Many pieces of wall-plaster coloured red and pink were also discovered.

Room O. This room adjoined the south side of room M in the west corridor, and was 11 ft. 3 in. in width. The other dimension was not ascertained as the road embankment and trees prevented further excavation. The room had been paved with tesserae and was probably in a mutilated condition, as no cubes were found *in situ* in the small area uncovered.

The West Corridor (pl. xv, fig. 1). The west corridor (R 1) was 10 ft. wide

Fig. 1. W. Corridor

Fig. 2. Water-channel, Room U

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Fig. 1. Room W

Fig. 2. Room W

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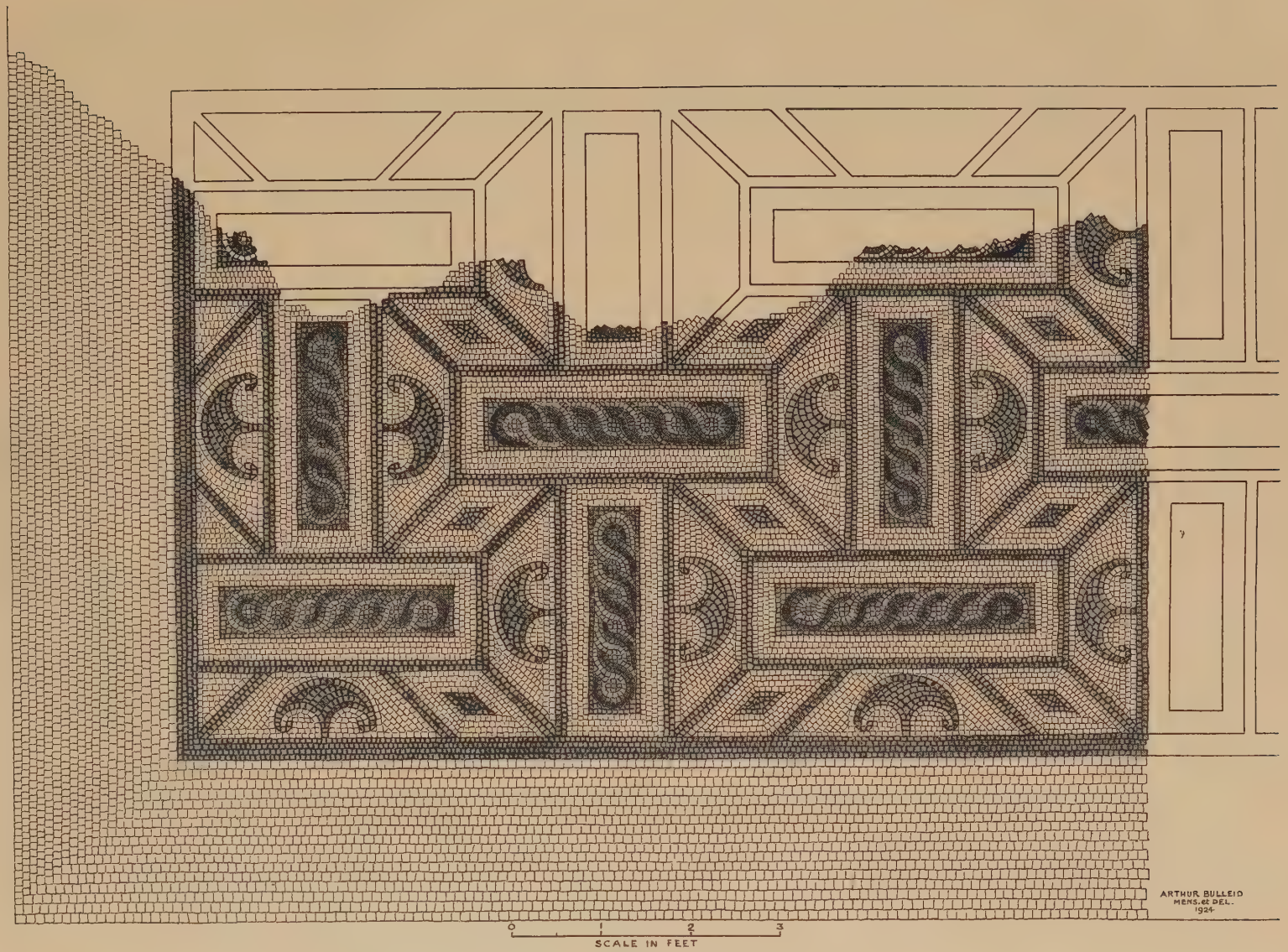

Fig. 5. W. Corridor: diagrammatic drawing of pavement.

and was traced southwards for 72 ft. 6 in., as far as the road embankment would allow. It then passed diagonally under the modern Bath and Bristol road and reappeared in the field situated on the south side of the embankment. Measurements were made with as much accuracy as possible, and the total length of this corridor was found to be 202 ft. 3 in. The corridor appeared to be on one level throughout. The east wall was open to the central courtyard, and its line was no doubt broken in the middle by the portico of the main entrance to the house. The west wall formed the boundary of several important rooms at the north and south ends. No coloured wall-plaster was discovered in this corridor.

At a distance of 33 ft. 6 in. from the north end a square hearth of tiles was found against the west wall (pl. XIV, fig. 2). The tiles were raised above the tessellated floor by a layer of black earth 1½ in. to 2½ in. in depth. The underlying tesserae were in perfect condition. The tiles were of various sizes and not set quite square with the line of the wall. The tiles had the following arrangement: adjoining the wall was a line of pieces of 11-in. tiles, ranging from 3 in. to 5 in. in width, against these was a row of four tiles measuring 11 in. by 14 in., these were followed by a row of four tiles 11 in. square, and adjoining these was a fourth row consisting of five of 8 in. square. All the tiles were much broken when discovered. They had evidently been collected from other parts of the house, and the hearth was apparently of late date and may have been constructed when other portions of the house were in a ruinous state.

The whole of the corridor was paved with tesserae (fig. 5), the design of which was far more intricate than that found in the north corridor, a fact that points to the greater importance attached to this wing of the dwelling. The chief features of the pattern consisted of a series of three rows of rectangular panels containing guilloche ornament. The long diameter of the panels alternated in direction, every other panel being placed in line with the long axis of the corridor, and the intervening panels at right angles to it. The laying out of the two outer rows of panels was alike, but the arrangement of the middle row differed from these in having a transverse panel placed opposite to two parallel panels in the outer rows, followed by a parallel panel between two transverse, and this scheme was repeated throughout. The transverse panels were surrounded by a narrow band of the tesserae so as to form an octagon, the ends of the guilloche panel occupying two sides of this figure. The centre of the spaces flanking the guilloche panel were filled with 'axehead' pattern. The panels placed parallel with the long axis of the corridor were also flanked with 'axeheads' and the remaining spaces occupied by a lozenge pattern. The whole pattern was surrounded by an area of coarse white tesserae of 1 in. cubes.

It may be noticed on referring to the plan that the guilloche pattern was not symmetrically arranged in all the panels.

Room U. This room was situated in the field on the south side of the road embankment, and measured 19 ft. in length by 16 ft. 2 in. in width. The walls averaged 23 in. in thickness. The northern boundary of the room was presumably formed by the south wall of the south corridor and contained the entrance. About 6 ft. east of the east wall was a pavement of pennant slabs, but as no retaining walls were discovered the meaning of this paved area is a matter of doubt. Running diagonally across the room from the south-west corner to the middle of the north wall was a large stone drain or water-channel (pl. xv, fig. 2). This was originally below the floor-level, and was made of massive blocks of Bath stone from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 9 in. in length. The channel was $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width, $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. in depth, with vertical sides measuring from 3 in. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. At the south-west corner of the room the water-channel passed through a hole in the south wall and ended flush with the outside face. The arch in the wall over the channel was formed by a similar piece of worked freestone turned upside down. The northern extremity of the channel was not traced, as the road embankment prohibited further excavation. No slabs were found covering the channel.

Room U was originally provided with a tessellated pavement, but all traces of the pattern had disappeared except for some loose cubes.

Room V. This was a small room situated to the west of room U and measuring 10 ft. 6 in. in length by 9 ft. 9 in. in width. The walls averaged 23 in. in thickness. It was originally paved with tesserae, but the floor was destroyed. Several glass cubes $\frac{3}{16}$ in. square, coloured green, blue, purple, pink, and white, were found amongst the debris in this room, but whether they belonged to it or to the adjoining hexagon room (W) is a matter of doubt. The plaster covering the walls was coloured red. The entrance to the room was through the east wall into Room U and measured 3 ft. 6 in. in width.

Room W (pl. xvi, fig. 1). This room was of hexagonal shape, and situated at the south end of the west corridor. It was for several reasons the most important and imposing apartment discovered. It was approached by a broad entrance, approximately 10 ft. 6 in. in width. The central part of the room was 21 ft. 6 in. in diameter, with each of the six sides measuring 12 ft. 6 in. The size of the hexagon was increased at the south-west, west, and north-west aspects by the recesses measuring 10 ft. 6 in. in width by 5 ft. in depth, and on the south-east and north-east sides by a semicircular alcove 7 ft. 6 in. in width by 3 ft. 6 in. in depth. The walls were 2 ft. in thickness except in the locality of the alcoves, and ties strengthened the angles formed by the meeting of the walls of the two adjoining recesses. Although tufa blocks were discovered on the site of this room, the number was small compared with the quantity found in the other hexagon room (J). The alcoves were probably arched over with Bath stone, as

many voussoirs were found in the locality of the south-east side of the room. The inner surface of the walls was covered with plaster and coloured red, and at several places small areas of this remained *in situ*. The stonework was coated with coarse plaster from 1¼ in. to 1⅜ in. in thickness and the surface finished off with a fine layer about ⅛ in. in thickness, in which the red colouring matter appeared to be intimately mixed.

The entire floor was originally paved with tesserae, and much of the pattern was found intact. The design was based upon a geometrical framework, which produced a great variety of panels containing, amongst other subjects, groups of figures, birds, foliage, and scrollwork (fig. 6). The following details of the device may be mentioned:

1. The main pattern used was of hexagonal shape following the outline of the room, bordered by a broad band of ¾ in. white tesserae, and framed from without inwards by a narrow band of dark grey, then by a zigzag band of white and dark grey triangles 3 in. wide, followed by a band of guilloche measuring 4 in. in width.

2. From the six corners of the hexagon, guilloche bands converged towards the centre, terminating in a circle 4 ft. in diameter, and producing a central circular panel and six triangular areas.

3. The central panel was unfortunately destroyed, but enough of the surrounding concentric bands remained to enable a plan to be made.

4. Each of the triangular areas was subdivided by bands of guilloche into a large rectangular panel 54 in. square, surmounted by a panel of irregular proportions enclosing another panel of semicircular outline, and on either side of the large square panels a secondary triangular area subdivided into two panels by an intermittent circular band 16 ft. in diameter.

The recesses were paved throughout with coarse 1 in. white tesserae.

The alcoves were partly filled with a rectangular panel 5 ft. 6 in. in length. The centre of this was occupied by a band of interlacing red circles 6½ in. in diameter, set in a white background, and surrounded by six bands of either plain dark grey or white cubes, zigzag or guilloche. The remaining space of the semicircle was paved with large white tesserae.

With reference to the different compartments of the design, the large square panels may be considered first, as they were of more than usual importance. Two (*a* and *b*) were found nearly complete, and of the third (*c*) about one-half remained.

The chief pictorial details were as follows:

(*a*) Pl. XVI, fig. 2. This panel contained two figures: a semi-nude female figure seated to the left and facing left; a male figure moving towards the right

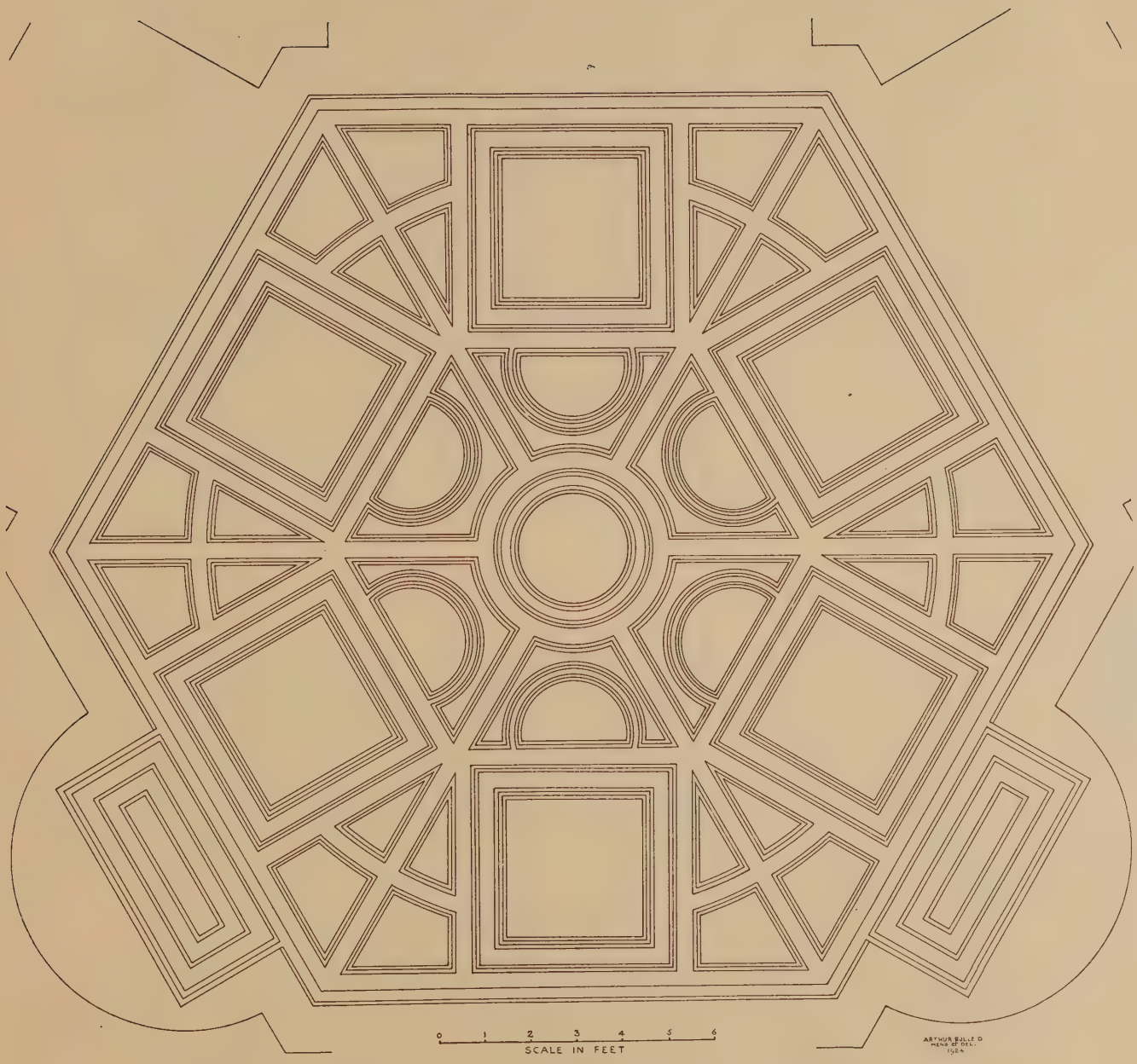

Fig. 6. Room W: plan of pavement.

and facing right. Between these at a higher level were the head and shoulders of a man in the background holding a rod.

(*b*)[1] Pl. XVII, fig. 1. A female figure (Europa) seated on the back of a recumbent bull, another figure standing at the head of the animal feeding it from a basket.

(*c*) Pl. XVII, fig. 2. Incomplete; two dancing figures facing each other, the left playing pipes, the right holding a tambourine. On the ground between the figures, the head of a helmeted Roman soldier.

The square panels were framed either with a band of chevron or key pattern.

The triangular space situated between two of the square panels was divided into four compartments, two sets of similar shape: (*a*) The lower pair contained representations of doves perched on a branch, or a coot-like bird similarly placed, in duplicate and facing each other. Introduced above the birds near the upper margin of the panel was either a fig or a bunch of grapes (pl. XVIII, fig. 1). (*b*) The upper triangular divisions contained a variety of devices, in one instance a plant in a bowl, in another a scroll-like branch of foliage; at other places these spaces were occupied with some conventional design.

The semicircular panels contained a peacock or other large bird, and were encircled by several narrow bands, the middle one being of rainbow construction (pl. XVIII, fig. 2). The colour scheme was worked in very fine tesserae and arranged in the following order from below upwards—black, pink, red, grey, white, grey, black, and pink.

The centre of the arch was surmounted by a small mask or face set in a dark background, from which issued on either side a scroll-shaped design.

Taken as a whole the framework of the pavement was a wonderfully conceived and worked-out design; the gradations of colours used were frequently most effective and beautiful, and the variety of the details fascinating and interesting.[2]

Various Details

Arches. In the vicinity of both sets of steps there were many pieces of worked Bath stone. Some were of rectangular shape, but the majority were voussoirs, which, when arranged side by side on the ground, formed a rounded

[1] The duplicated figure may also be intended for Europa. Ovid says: '[Europa] looked at him in wondering admiration, because he was so beautiful and friendly. But although he seemed so gentle, she was at first afraid to touch him. Presently she drew near, and held out flowers to his snow-white lips.' *Metamorphoses*, bk. ii, lines 858–61, trans. F. J. Miller in Loeb Classical Library.

[2] To enable this building to be found at a future time, the extreme west wall of the south hexagon room lies 145 ft. from the wall at the west end of the field, and the line of this measurement corresponds with the base of the road embankment.

Fig. 1. Room W

Fig. 2. Room W

Fig. 1. Room W

Fig. 2. Room W

arch. These voussoirs were worked on three sides and at the small end, and measured from 11⅝ in. to 13 in. in length. The reduction in width due to tapering was as follows: stones measuring 5 in. in width at the top were reduced to 4¼ in., others of 4 in. tapered to 3¼ in.

Fig. 7. Column in N. corridor.

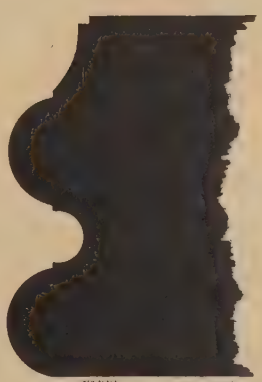

Fig. 8. Moulding of base of column.

Lying on the pavement of the north corridor a short distance below the upper set of steps was a piece of a column several feet in length made of Bath stone (figs. 7 and 8). Whether this was originally a portion of one of the pillars supporting the arch over the steps or part of a colonnade from the south wall of the corridor no evidence was forthcoming to show.

Water-trough. The water-trough (T) was rectangular and cut from a solid block of Bath stone (pl. XIX, fig. 1). It was lying at the angle formed by the junction of the north and west corridor walls, and placed 11½ in. and 9 in. respectively from them. The margin was found 2 ft. 9½ in. below the surface. The maximum outside length was 3 ft. 2 in., and the maximum width was 2 ft.

The exterior depth of the sides varied from 14 in. to 17½ in. The maximum inside measurements were—length, 2 ft. 9 in.; width, 1 ft. 8 in. The depth inside averaged 11 in., and the average thickness of the sides was 2¾ in. The contents consisted of black earth with fragments of pottery and wall-plaster, and a few animal bones. At the middle of the south margin there was a semicircular notch 2½ in. in diameter. The east margin had a notch of similar shape 6½ in. in diameter and 3 in. in depth.

Water-channel or Gutter. Leading from the north end of the water-trough was a gutter or channel of Bath stone (fig. 9). This passed through a hole in the south wall of the north corridor, and under the second step of the upper flight of steps. The step was resting on the edges of the channel. It then

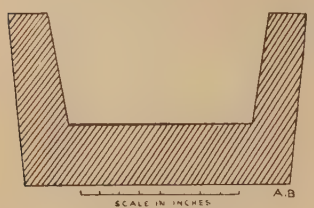

Fig. 9. Section of water-channel.

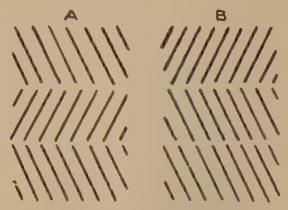

Fig. 10. Foundation courses.

Fig. 11. Ridge stones in section.

passed through a hole in the north wall of the north corridor and under the floor of room F, through the north wall of this room, and terminated flush with the outside face of the wall. The channel was cut from blocks of Bath stone in lengths of 2 ft. 6 in. The sides and base averaged 2½ in. in thickness, and the sides had a slight tilt outwards. The inside measured 9 in. across the base and 12 in. from margin to margin. The depth of the channel inside was 5½ in.

There was a difference in the level of the two ends of this channel of 18 in. and, contrary to what was expected, the highest end was found to be situated at the hole in the south wall of the corridor near the trough, which precluded the theory that the channel was intended to convey water to the trough.

The Walls (pl. XIX, fig. 2). The walls were constructed of pennant stone and varied from 18 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. in thickness, above the set-off of the foundation which ranged from 4 in. to 8 in. in width. The most perfect piece of walling was found at the eastern side of room H and along the north sides of the adjoining rooms G and F, where the wall was standing from 3 ft. to 4 ft. 3 in. in height above the set-off. Following the line of these walls and 18 in. distant from them were the remains of a rough wall which provided an air space at this part of the house. The space when discovered was filled with building debris and broken pottery. As regards the foundations generally, the lower stages

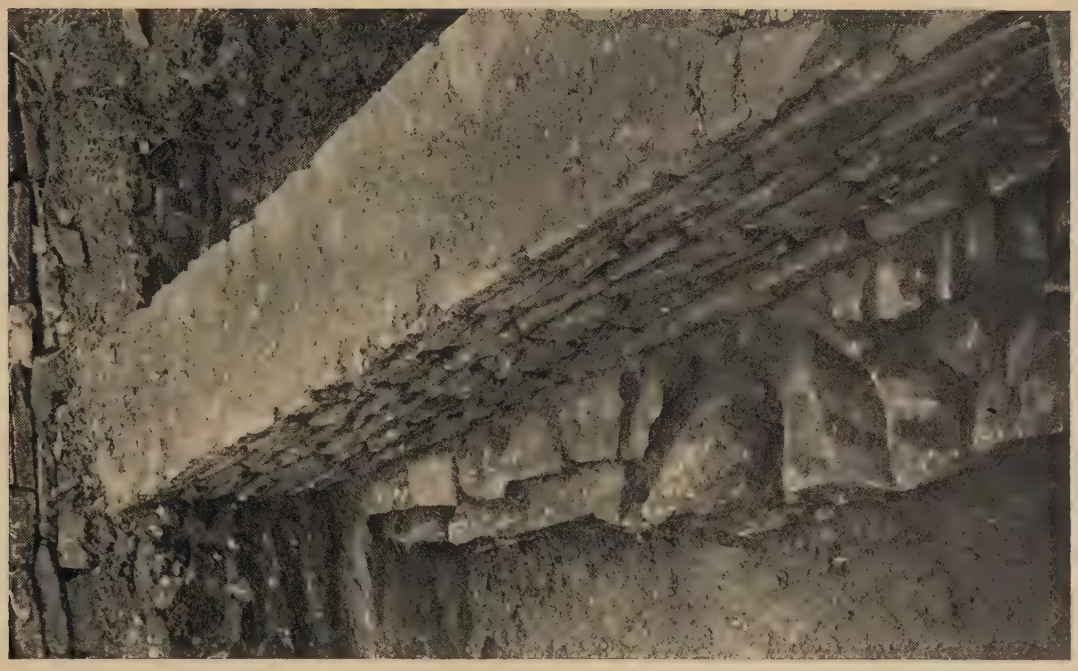

Fig. 2. Wall showing foundation

Fig. 1. Water-trough

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

Two Stone Coffins from the Roman House at Somerdale, Keynsham

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were made of large rough unworked blocks of pennant, set up on edge with a slight tilt (fig. 10). There were usually three courses of these stones, each course having a reversed slant; in one instance the two lower courses had the same slant and the direction of the top course was reversed. This arrangement was well marked in the walls that were removed by the grave-digger in the burial-ground situated east of the Chapel, where the lower 3 ft. was constructed in this way without mortar or cement, and the depth reached was 7 ft. to 7 ft. 9 in. below the surface.

Roofing Tiles. Roofing stones were found at every part of the excavations. The 'tiles' were made from slabs of pennant stone. The majority of them were of elongated hexagonal shape, measuring from 16 in. to 17 in. in length, and from 11 in. to 12 in. in width. The lower end was pointed, the sides parallel, and the upper part either tapered to a blunt point, or was roughly cut across making a seventh side. The edges of the two parallel sides and the pointed end were usually bevelled on the upper surface. The nail hole for fixing the tile was generally made on the left-hand side about 1½ in. to 2 in. from the top. The tiles for the lowest or eaves line were cut square at the lower end, and measured 12 in. in length. The nails for fixing the tiles averaged 2½ in. in length, and many of them still remained in the tiles.

Ridge Stones. These, made of Bath stone, were semicircular in section and tapering from end to end like 'imbrices' only longer, and grooved at the lower end (fig. 11). The crest-stones were also made of oolite; they were flat on the top, with sides sloping outwards, and with angular under surface. The dimensions were as follows: width across the top 5 in., sides 3½ in. in depth, width across base 7 in. The length of the ridge stones was not ascertained, no example having been found complete.

Tesserae. The tesserae of which the floors were constructed were sent to the Geological Survey and Museum, London, and reported on on 29th September 1922, by Mr. W. F. P. M'Lintock: 'With one exception the tesserae which you sent for examination consist of limestone. The bluish-grey specimens are probably Lias, whilst the light-coloured ones probably come from the Great Oolite. The reddish-brown specimen is a grit, perhaps of Old Red Sandstone Age.'

Oyster Shells. Oyster shells in some quantity were found among the ruins, and specimens were submitted to Mr. Alfred Bell of Ipswich for his opinion. He writes, under date of 21st August 1924, 'I have compared the oysters . . . with others that I have from Caerwent, and find they both agree with a number of recent shells from the beds at Caldey Island, Tenby, and I should say the Keynsham oysters come from a locality on the South Wales coast not very far away from here.'

Various Small Finds

Of small objects suitable for the Museum case few 'finds' of importance were made. The pottery was disappointing, consisting chiefly of the usual culinary types. Samian was scarce, and amongst the sherds of this ware there was only one piece stamped, the name of the potter being BELLATULLUS. One shallow dish of black ware may be mentioned on account of the name UNICA scratched on the inside of the base.

Amongst the bronze objects were a few bracelets, three finger-rings, and a barbed fish-hook measuring about 1 in. in length. A stone-mason's iron twist-bit $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, with the twist the reverse way to the modern tool, and with the point broken, was found among the debris.

Some bone pins were of similar form to those so commonly found on Roman sites. A small crucible and a mould for casting a pendant or ornament brings the scanty list to an end.

Coins[1]

The generic term 'third-brass', although perhaps more convenient than scientific, may be used broadly to describe the denominations of the coins of copper and copper alloys which are included in the following list of numismatic finds. The extreme dates may be taken as A.D. 265 to 375 approximately. The majority of the examples are not in good condition, but a few might win the approval of a student of the Lower Empire coinage. Two specimens only can be identified as products of Romano-British mints. The dates are taken from Clinton's *Epitome of the Chronology of Rome and Constantinople.*

Victorinus (?), 265–7.

1. *Obv.*—Bust radiate, r. Obliterated, but probably that usurper.
   Rev.—Peace standing. Illegible.

Tetricus I (?), 268–74.

2. *Obv.*—[TET]RICVS · · · Head radiate, r.
   Rev.—? Peace. Obliterated.

Carausius, 287–93.

3. *Obv.*—IMP C CARAVSIVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, r.
   Rev.—PAX AVG. Peace standing, with olive branch and transverse sceptre.
   In field S.P. In exergue MLXXI (London mint). The numerals are marks of value indicating a ratio of 21 to the silver denarius.

[1] The writers are indebted to Mr. H. St. George Gray for helping to name many of the sixty coins found, and particularly to Mr. Henry Symonds, F.S.A., for making out the above list.

Constantius Chlorus, Caesar 292, *Augustus* 305.

4. *Obv.*—CONSTANTIVS N C. Head laureate, r.
Rev.—VOT XX SIC XXX. Within a wreath.

Helena (wife of Chlorus). Augusta 306.

5. *Obv.*—FL IVL HELENAE AVG. Bust, diademed and draped, r.
Rev.—PAX PVBLICA. Peace standing, with olive branch and sceptre. In exergue TRS (Trier).

Constantine I. Caesar 306, *Augustus* 307-37.

6. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate, r.
Rev.—PROVIDENTIAE AVG[G]. Gate of camp; above, two turrets and star. PTR (Trier).
7. *Obv.*—IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, r.
Rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sol standing, radiate, holding globe. PLN (London).
8. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS PF AVG. Bust as no. 7.
Rev.—Obliterated.
9. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Bust helmeted and cuirassed, with sceptre, l.
Rev.—Victory, with shield, on prow of ship. TRS (Trier).
10 and 11. Two similar to no. 9; one Trier mint.
12, 13, and 14. Three corroded coins of Constantinian period, the type being a labarum between two soldiers; one Trier.

Crispus. Caesar 317-26.

15. *Obv.*—CRISPVS NOB CAES. Bust, laureate and draped, r.
Rev.—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Within a wreath VOT V. AQ (Aquileia).

Constantine II. Caesar 317, *Augustus* 337-40.

16. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS IVN NC. Bust laureate and cuirassed, r.
Rev.—[GLORIA] EXERCITVS. Labarum between two soldiers. TRS (Trier).

Constans. Caesar 333, *Augustus* 337-50.

17. *Obv.*—DN CONSTANS [PF AVG]. Bust, diademed and draped, r.
Rev.—[FEL TEM]P REPARATIO. Phoenix standing on rock. [T]RS (Trier).

18. *Obv.*—CONSTANS PF AVG. Bust as no. 17.
Rev.—[GLORIA] EXERCITVS. Labarum between two soldiers.
PLG (Lyons).

19. *Obv.*—Legend and bust as no. 18.
Rev.—VICT[ORIAE] DD AVGG Q NN. Two Victories holding two wreaths.
In field, D. In exergue TRS (Trier).

20. A similar coin.

21 and 22. Two others corroded and nearly illegible.

Constantius II. Caesar 323, *Augustus* 337-61.

23. *Obv.*—DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Bust, diademed, r.
Rev.—FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Phoenix, radiate, standing on globe.
TRP (Trier).

24 *Obv.*—FL IVL CONSTANTIVS [? AVG]. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, r.
Rev.—VIRTVS AVGG NN. Emperor standing, with spear and shield.
TRP (Trier).

Magnentius, 350–3.

25. *Obv.*—DN MAGNE[NTI]VS PF AVG. Head bare, bust draped, r.
Rev.—Blundered legend VICTORIAE··· Two Victories holding wreath, on which VOT V MVLT X also misplaced.
PLG (Lyons). Behind head, A.

26 and 27. One similar to no. 25, but legends obliterated; the other entirely obliterated but probably Magnentius.

Valentinian I, 364–75.

28. *Obv.*—DN VALENTIN[IANVS PF AVG]. Bust, diademed, r.
Rev.—GLORIA R[OMANORVM]. Emperor holding a kneeling captive and a labarum.
Mint illegible.

29. Obliterated, but reverse type as no. 28.

30. *Obv.*—As no. 28; legend partly illegible.
Rev.—SECVRITAS [REIPVBLICAE]. Victory, l., with wreath and palm.
Letters in field, and mint, doubtful.

Conclusion

It is a matter for regret that this Roman house could not be preserved *in situ*, after it had been excavated, but it was obviously impossible in the circumstances. Its position in a public cemetery where the ground was badly needed for interments made its destruction inevitable, and all that could be done was to uncover what remained, and make as complete a record of it as possible before the burials encroached on it any farther. All the tessellated floors that were sufficiently intact to be worth preserving have been carefully taken up, and the wall-foundations have been removed by the cemetery authorities to make the ground more fit for its purpose.

The whole of the expense of preserving the floors has been generously borne by Messrs. Fry & Sons, who at considerable cost employed expert workmen to remove them in sections, and they are now building a museum where the floors will be relaid and exposed to view.

The outstanding feature of this Keynsham Roman house is its great size. It seems probable that no other single house has been found in England which is larger than this one. The corridors, as has been shown, form a square 209 by 202 feet. If these measurements are compared with those of some of the largest houses hitherto uncovered, they will be found to exceed them all. The following are the measurements:

Northleigh, Oxfordshire: 200 by 170 feet.
Wellow, Somerset: 210 by 180.
Brading, Isle of Wight: 190 by 100.
Spoonley, Gloucestershire: 190 by 170.
Woodchester, Gloucestershire: 160 by 140.
Silchester, Berkshire (single large house): 148 by 115.
Chedworth, Gloucestershire: 160 by 95.

The Keynsham house is therefore larger than any of the above, but Chedworth would be longer on one side if the workshops were included, and Woodchester covers a larger area if its two squares are taken as belonging to one house, although in all probability they represent two separate dwellings.

APPENDIX

Roman House on the site of Messrs. J. S. Fry & Sons' new factory at Somerdale, Keynsham.

In 1922 two Roman stone coffins[1] were discovered, together with a quantity of pottery and other objects of Roman design and workmanship, while preparations were being made for the new buildings. As the erection of the factory proceeded at Somerdale the foundations of a small house were uncovered 70 ft. to the north of these coffins.

The ground-plan of the house (fig. 12) was roughly square, measuring 53 ft. 10 in. by 51 ft. 3 in., with a frontage facing south, and a projecting wing on either side between which was a small entrance court. The walls were built of local Lias stone and measured from 1 ft. 7 in. to 3 ft. in thickness.

The rooms were six in number, besides several recesses or offices of small dimensions.

A. This room, situated on the west side of the entrance court, measured 16 ft. in length by 11 ft. in width. No signs of a tessellated pavement were discovered, and the entrance was in the east wall opening into the Court. There was probably another entrance through the north wall into Room E.

B. The Court was open to the south and measured 18 ft. 3 in. by 17 ft. 7 in. It was probably paved with stone slabs, and served as the approach to the main entrance of the house.

C. This room, situated on the east side of the Court, measured 16 ft. in length by 15 ft. in width, and may have been paved with tesserae.

D. The dimensions of this room were 19 ft. 6 in. in length by 17 ft. in width. The north and east walls were incomplete. The floor was probably paved with pennant slabs.

E. This was the chief apartment of the house, and adjoined Room A and the Court. It measured 28 ft. 6 in. in length by 19 ft. 9 in. in width. In the south-west corner there was a pavement of rough stone slabs measuring 8 ft. 9 in. in length by 5 ft. 10 in. in width, bordered along the east margin by a curb of stones placed edgeway up. The north margin of this pavement had an unfinished appearance, and looked as if at one time it had been of greater extent. Near the east end of the room, and placed approximately midway

[1] These are described in the *Antiquaries Journal* for October 1922 (vol. ii, no. 4, p. 371). As these coffins were not fully excavated at the time, the two photographs of them are here given (pl. xx).

between the north and south walls, was an incomplete water-trough or impluvium made of Bath stone sunk in the floor. The inside dimensions of this rectangular structure were 3 ft. 8 in. in length by 2 ft. 3 in. in width. The base and part of the south side were missing. Adjoining the north margin of the trough was a large stone slab of rectangular proportions, measuring roughly 3 ft. in length

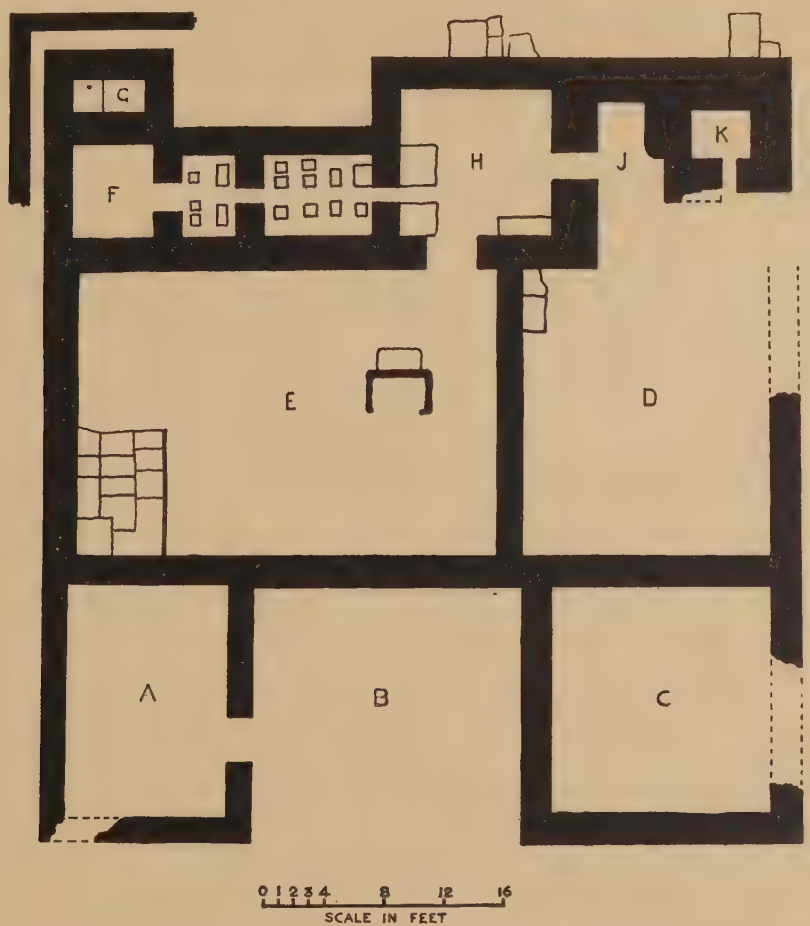


Fig. 12. Plan of the Roman house at Somerdale, Keynsham.

by 1 ft. 9 in. in width. There was nothing to show how the remaining area of the floor was paved.

F. This part of the house consisted of a suite of three small apartments placed in line and adjoining the north wall of Room E. The western section measured 6 ft. 7 in. by 5 ft. 8 in. The middle and eastern sections were heated by a hypocaust, and measured respectively 6 ft. by 3 ft. 10 in., and 7 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft. The pilae were made of thin squared slabs of pennant stone.

G. This was a small apartment measuring 4 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. The floor was paved and intact, and was apparently at a lower level than the other floors. The eastern three-fifths of the floor area was covered with 1 in. white tesserae, and the remaining two-fifths paved with one large slab of stone. The slab was perforated with a small circular hole about 1½ in. in diameter, placed north of the centre.

H. This room measured 10 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. It was approached by an entrance in the south wall from Room E. The floor was probably paved with slabs of pennant stone throughout, and may have been heated by a hypocaust.

J. This part of the house was of irregular shape, and the walls appeared to be incomplete. It may have been intended for a stoke-hole and also used for storing fuel.

K. This was another small office measuring 4 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 9 in.

Abutting against the east end of the north wall of the building were the foundations of two structures made of massive blocks of freestone, but we are unable to state for what purpose they were intended.

VI.—*Fromond's Chantry at Winchester College.*

By Herbert Chitty, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 21st May 1925

John Fromond's chantry chapel stands in the garth of the cloisters at Winchester College, and is now commonly known to the inmates of the college by the brief name of 'Chantry' (pl. xxi, fig. 1).

The college was founded by William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, in 1382: its buildings were first occupied by the warden and scholars in March 1394; and on St. Kenelm's day (17 July) 1395, the college chapel, and the cloisters which lie on its south side, were consecrated by Wykeham's suffragan, Simon, bishop of the Irish see of Achonry.[1] The cloister garth, which was included in this consecration, was intended to be the college cemetery. John Fromond, who died on 20 November 1420, and his widow Maud, who died in or before April 1422, were buried, as he had desired, in one grave in the middle of the garth, and the chantry was afterwards built over their grave by his executors. One of these executors was Robert Thurbern, warden of the college from 1413 to 1450, and Thurbern may therefore be regarded as largely responsible for the details of the structure. It is a one-storeyed building, constructed of Bere stone, 39 ft. long by 20 ft. wide: the chantry chapel occupies the ground-floor, and there is a chamber above, which was apparently designed for use as a library.[2] The door of the chantry, which is at its west end, is approached by going half-way down the west aisle of the cloisters. At this end of the building, on the exterior hood-moulding of the window above the door, there are two figures, one representing Fromond, and the other his wife.

Maud's figure (pl. xxi, fig. 2) has suffered a sad mutilation, for in the winter of 1907–8 a snow-storm swept away her arms and the book which rested in her lap. The book indicated that she had received a good education. At the time of her marriage with Fromond she was the widow of a Hampshire knight, Sir

[1] A Cistercian of Quarr; suffragan of London, 1385; Canterbury, 1386; Lichfield and Ely, 1387; Winchester, 1387–95; died 1398. See Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (2nd ed.), p. 208; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, iv, 100.

[2] 'In solutis eidem [Stephano Glasyer] emendanti diuersos defectus in capella Fromond et in superiore domo eiusdem ordinata pro libraria, destructa et deturpata per columbas et alios volucres, vs.' (Bursars' accounts, *custos capelle*, 1457–8).

Robert Markaunt, of West Mapledurham,[1] a fact which explains why she is sometimes styled 'domina Fromond' in the college accounts. She was one of three children[2] of Richard Hanger, or Atte Hangre, of Dibden Hanger, Hants, by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Richard of Farnhull,[3] head of the family which had long owned the manor of Farnhull, known later as Fernhill. The lands belonging to this manor lay chiefly in the neighbourhood of New Milton, Hants, but some parcels of the manor lay at Christchurch and others at Lymington.

The figure of Fromond himself, though weather-worn, has suffered less injury (pl. xxi, fig. 3). With his right hand he keeps his ledger open, as if inviting inspection of his accounts. With his left he displays his shield, of which more hereafter. Behind his left shoulder there can be seen, if one mounts a ladder, the adjustable hood attached to his cloak. Fromond lived at Sparsholt, a little to the north-west of Winchester, where he owned property which had previously belonged to his father John Fromond and his grandfather Richard Fromond. There had been a Stephen Fromond, mayor of Winchester in the year 1266.[4] While William of Wykeham was alive, John Fromond was concerned with the estates of the see of Winchester, being appointed in 1391 as bailiff first of Clere and subsequently of Waltham.[5] Soon after Wykeham's death, which occurred on 27 September 1404, he became also an official of the college. In 1405 he was made steward of the college manors in Hants and Wilts., and in 1414 also of those in Middlesex and Berks.[6] His relations with the warden and fellows[7] were evidently of a very happy character, for the bursars' accounts contain frequent notes of small gifts, such as knives, gloves, rabbits, snipe, woodcock, herrings, almonds, and wine, sent on New Year's day or some other like occasion, either by him to the college, or by the college to him or his wife.

Their marriage produced no child or none which grew up. Maud's former husband, Sir Robert Markaunt, had left a daughter Joan, who was probably not

[1] College Muniments, Fromond's chantry drawer, no. 7, pleas in a suit relating to her dower 'ex dotacione Roberti Markaunt chivaler quondam viri sui'.

[2] The others were Richard, who died without issue, and Joan, who became a nun at Romsey (Fernhill drawer, Fromond's title, no. 2 *a*).

[3] His other children were Thomas (o.s.p.), Walter (a monk), Richard (o.s.p.), and Margaret, whose children were Thomas Penne, William Penne, 'et alii plures' (*ibid.*; and no. 4).

[4] *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium* (Roberts), pp. 434–5. He was probably the Stephen Fromond to whom Henry III granted in 1250 'sex quercus ad maeremium cum escaetis' out of the Forest of Bere (Calendar of Close Rolls). For Stephen's son Edward, see *Calendarium Genealogicum*, ii, 497, 772.

[5] Wykeham's *Episcopal Register* (Kirby, Hampshire Record Soc.), ii, 427–8; *Archaeological Journal*, xvi, 166.

[6] Bursars' accounts under *Feoda*.

[7] He was one of the executors of the will of warden Morys, who died in 1413.

Fig. 1. Fromond's chantry from north-east

Fig. 2. Figure of Maud Fromond

Fig. 3. Figure of John Fromond

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester, photos.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

Fig. 1. Fromond's chantry: interior, looking east

Fig. 2. Fromond's chantry: interior, looking west

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester, photos.

daughter to Maud, but only step-daughter. But Joan died, and so also did a child whom the Fromonds afterwards adopted.[1] On Joan's death Fromond bought from her heir, William Levechild, the properties which she had inherited from her father.[2] He bought other properties besides, and in one way and another he acquired all the lands which had belonged to his wife's folk, the Hangers and the Farnhulls. He was a rich man: he saved money and invested his savings in land. He was in commissions of array for Hants in 1402, 1406, and 1420, and in commissions of the peace there in 1406, 1413, 1414, and 1416. He also served on several special commissions: for instance, one relating to a subsidy in 1412, another regarding Lollards in 1414, and another concerning a loan to be raised for Henry V in 1419.[3]

Having no child to provide for, he decided that, after the deaths of himself and his wife, his property at Sparsholt should go to his kinsman John Esteney,[4] and that all his other properties, except two, should be sold to raise the moneys required for the building of a chantry chapel within the college cloisters. The excepted properties were his moiety of the manor of Allington (near Eastleigh) and some tenements which he owned in the city and soke of Winchester: these the college was to enjoy, but charged with the cost of maintaining the chantry and a priest to serve it, of observing the anniversary of Fromond's death, and of providing clothes for the sixteen quiristers of the college.[5] Accordingly, on 13 November 1420, he conveyed all his landed properties, divided into seventeen lots, to three feoffees in fee simple.[6] The feoffees were John Harryes,[7] Richard Wallop, and Richard Seman. Seman was Fromond's clerk, and Wallop was the lawyer who shortly afterwards succeeded Fromond as steward of the college manors. Fromond had such confidence in these feoffees that he did not put into writing the trusts upon which they were to hold the properties.[8] On the next day he executed his will, and then, on 20 November, he died. The

[1] 'In datis nutrici filii Henrici Kesewik apud Spersholte ix^{0} die mensis Februarii xx*d.* In datis cuidam alteri nutrici lactanti quandam filiam adoptiuam Johannis Fromond et vxoris eius, xx*d.*' (Bursars' accounts, *expense forinsece*, 1415–16.)

[2] Close Roll, 13 Hen. IV, m. 2.

[3] Calendars of Close Rolls.

[4] It is not known how Esteney was related to Fromond, but Richard Seman calls him Fromond's cousin (P. R. O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 8, no. 18). Fromond's heir was Alice, wife of John Dent, of Basildon, Berks., gentleman, and she was daughter of Joan, daughter of Edith, sister to Fromond's father (Allington drawer, no. 30).

[5] Wykeham's only provision for clothing the quiristers was permission to the warden, fellows, head master, and usher, to give their livery, after four years' wear, to the quiristers, *intuitu charitatis.* (Statutes of 1400, rubric 27, *ad finem*).

[6] Fromond's chantry drawer, no. 8.

[7] Probably the John Harryes who was in the commission of array for Hants in 1418, and in the commission there of 1419 for raising a loan for the king.

[8] Fernhill drawer, Fromond's title, nos. 28, 29.

will, which is a long one, has already been printed.[1] It will be sufficient here to say that it provided that Esteney and his heirs should have the property at Sparsholt after Maud Fromond's death, and that the college should have the moiety of Allington, and also the Winchester tenements, upon the terms already mentioned. But it contained no directions for the disposal of the other properties which had been conveyed to Harryes, Wallop, and Seman. The will was proved first by Mrs. Fromond and Richard Seman, and later also by John Halle of Burgate [2] and Warden Thurbern. Wallop and Richard Chedesey, who had also been named as executors, declined to act.

Having brought my narrative down to Fromond's death, I break off from it to say something about the shield which the above-mentioned figure of him displays. The shield occurs also in the spandrels of the doorway, and twice in the chantry vault (pl. XXVIII, fig. 1). Fromond's acquisition of this shield is a well-known instance of arms being passed by grant from vendor to purchaser: it has already been commented on by Dr. de Gray Birch and Mr. W. Paley Baildon.[3] Nowadays one must make no payment whatever to obtain a coat of arms, except heralds' fees. But in Fromond's day this doctrine was scarcely established. In 1404, when he bought from Walter Haywode the manor of Haywode at Stratfieldsaye, Hants,[4] Haywode conveyed to him not only the manor, but also the Haywode arms, which (so it is stated in the conveyance) were appurtenant to the manor, azure, a chevron ermine between three fleurs-de-lis silver.[5] Fromond's shields in the chantry, however, are tinctured otherwise, gold being used for the chevron instead of ermine. The authority for the gold would seem to be a manuscript at the college of about the year 1690.[6]

At Hadlow in Kent there was a family of Fromonds or Fromond, which was settled there as early as 1259.[7] In Tudor times this family, or a branch of it, had property at Cheam and Carshalton in Surrey, and was entered in the Tudor Visitations of Surrey with the arms, parted chevronwise ermine and gules, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis gold.[8] There is no known con-

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, xvi, 169–73.

[2] As to whom see *V. C. H. Hants*, iv, 569–70. His heir was William Sydeney, son of Agnes, daughter of Henry Clympysfold, son of William, son of Robert Clympysfold, father of Helias, father of Agnes, John Halle's mother (Allington drawer, no. 35). See *Archaeologia*, lxv, 251.

[3] *Journ. of Brit. Arch. Soc.*, xlvii, 323; *The Ancestor*, ix, 218. See also *V. C. H. Hants*, iv, 60.

[4] Brit. Mus. Add. Ch. 24, 697, and 36, 987. See also *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Seals*, iii, 86 (nos. 10, 604 and 10, 605).

[5] 'Le chief de azure trois flourdelys dargent oue un cheueroun dermyn' (*Journ. of Brit. Arch. Soc.*, xlvii, 323). 'Chief' here evidently means 'field'.

[6] A parchment sheet of shields, with notes mainly by Dr. John Nicholas (Warden 1679–1711/2). The series includes the arms in 'School' (built 1683–7).

[7] Hasted's *Kent*, ii, 316.

[8] Harl. MS. 1561, ff. 28 *b*, 29, 29 *b* (Harleian Soc., vol. xliii, p. 30).

nexion between these Fromonds of Kent and Surrey and our John Fromond of Sparsholt, and the similarity of their coat to that which he had obtained under Walter Haywode's grant is probably due to the fallacious doctrine that like names justify like arms. One John Fromond of Hadlow is styled 'armiger' in a document of 1398,[1] but it does not seem to be known what arms he bore. No Fromond is mentioned in any Visitation of Kent.

I now resume my narrative. Maud Fromond did not long survive her husband John: her executors were sending some mill-stones to the college in 1421–2,[2] and she evidently died before 21 April 1422, that being the day on which John's feoffees conveyed his Sparsholt property to Esteney.[3] In November of the same year some of his other properties in Hampshire were sold, and the chief purchaser was John Rogger (or Rogers) of Bryanstone, Dorset, whose purchase included the following manors: West Mapledurham, Hinton Burrant and Hinton Markaunt, North Houghton, Houghton Edington and a moiety of Houghton Denecourt, Dibden Hanger, and Dibden Poleyn.[4] The property at Stratfieldsaye seems to have been sold to another purchaser.[5]

In 1430, while the chantry was being built with the proceeds of these sales, trouble arose, occasioning litigation. Warden Thurbern and his co-executor Halle filed a petition in chancery against two of Fromond's feoffees, Wallop and Seman. The complaint was that, Harryes (the other feoffee) having died, Wallop, with Seman's connivance, had attempted to secure for his own son, Richard Wallop junior, without payment, two of Fromond's properties that had remained unsold, the manor of Fernhill and some lands at Alverstoke.[6] Seman's deposition in court still exists and goes far towards establishing the petitioners' case against both the defendants.[7] However, we do not know what Wallop had to say for himself. It would seem that the sales already made had provided enough cash to pay for the chantry as planned, and no further sale being needed, Wallop may have conceived that the feoffees were free to do what they pleased with the surplus lands. In connexion with this litigation Wallop ceased

[1] Close Roll, 21 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 18 *d.*

[2] Bursars' accounts, 1421–2.

[3] Fromond's chantry drawer, no. 13 (copy of the conveyance). In accordance with the directions in Fromond's will, the property was conveyed upon the terms that Esteney and his heirs and assigns should for ever find a priest to celebrate in the church of Sparsholt at the altar of St. Katharine for the souls of Fromond and his wife and other named persons. But there seems to be no evidence that these terms were observed or enforced.

[4] Close Roll, 1 Hen. VI, m. 21 *d.* Cf. *V. C. H. Hants*, iii, 88, 97, 98, 414–16; iv, 473, 656–7. But at some of these references Fromond's ownership of the properties bought by Rogers is ignored.

[5] See *ibid.*, iv, 60.

[6] Fernhill drawer, Fromond's title, no. 29; P. R. O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 8, no. 19.

[7] P. R. O., *ibid.*, nos. 17, 18.

to be college steward, and was succeeded by Thomas Haydock, who held the stewardship from 1431 to 1451.[1] The litigation ended in a compromise favourable to the college, the upshot being that the manor of Fernhill became college property in 1446, as an additional endowment for fulfilling the obligations attached to Fromond's benefaction.

As the building of the chantry was the concern not of the college itself, but of Fromond's executors (whose accounts have not been preserved), we learn little about the progress of the work from the college records. But they supply the following facts. Lead for the roof was brought to the college in the autumn of 1430:[2] the altar was consecrated by Cardinal Beaufort's suffragan[3] on 26 August 1437: doors were supplied in 1438–9: and the windows were glazed in 1443–4 by workmen in the employ of John Prudde, the king's glazier.[4] In 1444–5 a stone was placed over the Fromonds' grave, and the floor was paved. The whole work was apparently completed before 20 June 1446, and on that day the college executed a deed-poll, accepting Fromond's benefaction and undertaking the duties it involved.[5] At the same time Fromond's moiety of Allington and his Winchester tenements were vested in the college, together with the manor of Fernhill.

I have failed to find any record fixing the year in which the bosses in the vault of the chantry were carved. The bursars' accounts for 1445–6, and also the hall-book for that year, which might have thrown light upon the point, are missing. As it is inconvenient to have no working theory about the date of the carving, I assume tentatively that 1445-6 was approximately the year in which the work was done.[6]

A few words about the chantry after the Reformation. In 1564 the upper chamber was being used as a granary, and that was still its use in 1574.[7] But by 1566 the chapel itself had been converted into a library, for there is an inventory of that year which specifies the books then lodged in Fromond's chapel. In 1629 the furniture and fittings of this library were much improved at the expense of Dr. Robert Pinke, warden of New College, Oxford,[8] and probably at the

[1] Bursars' accounts under *Feoda*.

[2] College hall-book, 1430–1 (1st quarter, 3rd week). The other details are from the accounts.

[3] John Bover, bishop of Annadown in Ireland, and provost of St. Elizabeth's College, Winchester.

[4] This glass probably perished in 1580–1, when 9*s.* 6*d.* was paid to 'Johanni Gyllam vitreatori laboranti per se per 5 dies et cum famulo per 7 dies deponendo vitro capelle fromond et emendandis fenestris capelle maioris'.

[5] Fromond's chantry drawer, nos. 10, 11.

[6] In the deed of 20 June 1446, the building is described as *sumptuose constructa*, and it may be doubted whether the college would have taken to it before all the contemplated work had been finished.

[7] Bursars' accounts.

[8] Library-book of donations.

same time the library was extended to the upper chamber.[1] The whole building continued to be the Fellows' library down to 1874, when the ground-floor was made into a junior chapel for the school.[2] The upper chamber has been devoted recently to the purposes of an art school.

The interior of the chantry now demands our attention (pl. XXII). The east window contains some beautiful glass, made about the year 1480. It was originally in another window at the college and was fitted into the east window of the chantry in 1772,[3] together with some fragments from other sources. The glass in the west window, a gift from Sir William Erle[4] in or about 1854, was designed by Thomas Willement, once a Fellow of our Society: his monogram occurs at the base of the central panel. The style and colours of his glass are not suitable to the building. Pl. XXIII is a view of the stone vault. A rectangular area is covered by two square systems of vaulting, groined, ribbed, and lierned, springing from slender pillars at three of the four corners, and from similar but curtailed pillars, on carved corbels, at the south-west corner and at the middle of each side wall. There are carved bosses, of various shapes and sizes, at the intersection of all the ribs and liernes. The main ridge-rib (which is 28 ft. above the floor) has nine bosses, the transverse ridge-ribs five each, the half-diagonal ribs two on each, the intermediate ribs one on each. The intermediate ribs are lighter than the ridge and diagonal ribs: the liernes, of which there are five on each vault-face (eighty in all), are of the same section as the intermediate ribs.

It is uncertain whether the bosses, when originally carved, were also tinctured, but they may have been. From my recollections of the vault as I first saw it in 1876, I should say that it had been subjected at some period or other to repeated white-washings, but had eventually been allowed to get into a dirty state, due mainly to the successive stoves used for warming the place while it was a library. With its conversion into a junior chapel in 1874, gas was introduced as the illuminant at evening services, and in course of time the gas must have increased the dirt. The chantry is now furnished with electric light.

The present tincturing of the bosses is due to the generosity of that most generous of Wykehamists, the late Dr. William Andrewes Fearon. In 1898, in connexion with various improvements then in hand, Dr. Fearon, who was at that time the head master, offered to have the vault cleaned and the bosses coloured at

[1] In 1608–9, when this chamber was cleaned and its windows reglazed, it is styled in the accounts *camera supra librariam*.

[2] Its use as a junior chapel began in December 1874.

[3] See further *Ancient Glass in Winchester*, by J. D. Le Couteur (Winchester, 1920), pp. 106 *et seqq*.

[4] Winchester Scholar, 1804; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1859-66.

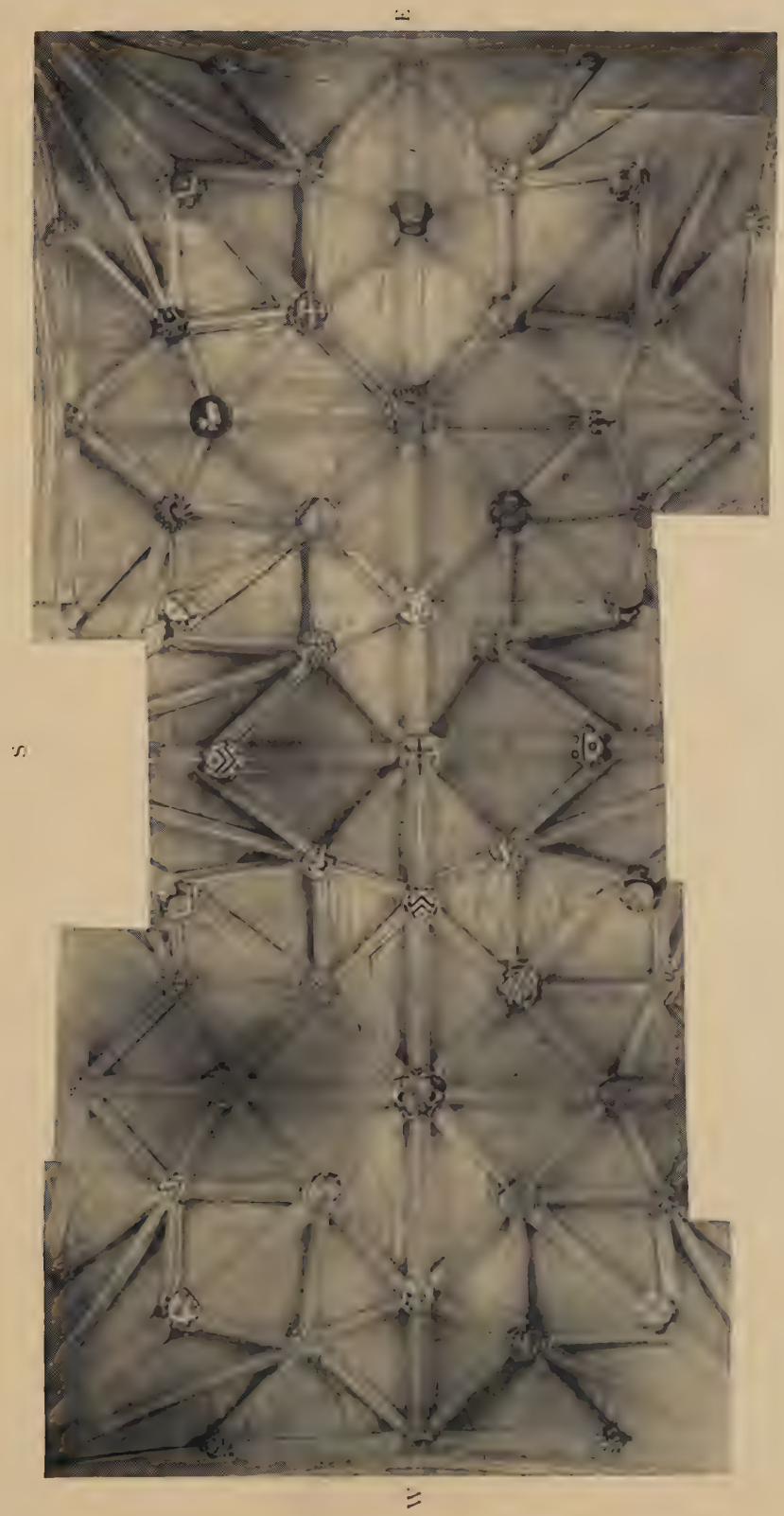
his own expense.[1] This offer being accepted by the warden and fellows, he entrusted the work to the superintendence of our Society's late Fellow Mr. John Oldrid Scott. The work was well done and the vault became once more a thing of great beauty. The only matter for regret is that we have no report from Scott upon the state of the vault as it was when he first examined it, or upon any discoveries he may have then made: for instance, whether he found traces of old paint on any of the shields. Years afterwards, when I had become an official of the college, I applied to Dr. Fearon for information, but he had not preserved any letters or papers Scott may have sent him. Upon the completion of the work, there was printed in *The Wykehamist*, the school magazine,[2] a partial list of the bosses, limited mainly to the heraldic shields, with terse notes of identification. Dr. Fearon informed me that this list was prepared by Scott; so I will treat it as Scott's when I have to refer to it again.

When the bosses were carved in 1445, if that was the year, Fromond, worthy benefactor though he was, had to give place, in the scheme of decoration, to a man of greater distinction. Henry Beaufort, Wykeham's immediate successor, ruled the see of Winchester for forty-two years—from 14 March 1405, the date of his translation from Lincoln, until his death on 11 April 1447. This is not an occasion for discussing his career as a statesman or his character. I only desire to say that he was a staunch friend and generous benefactor of Winchester College, of which he was justly regarded as 'patron'. I am not referring merely to his splendid gifts, such as the silver-gilt image of our Lady *sedentis cum filio in cathedra*, which he sent to the college on Lady Day 1412.[3] It was through his personal exertions that in 1414 Henry V was induced to waive, in favour of the college, his right to the lands of the alien priory of Andover. In 1423 he intervened to settle promptly, and in a manner satisfactory to the college, a dispute which threatened to be interminable between the college and the dean and chapter of Salisbury concerning the right to tithe of *silva caedua* in the forest of Finkley. It was he who persuaded Henry VI in 1439 to permit the college to acquire the manor of Barton at Whippingham in the Isle of Wight; and the college had his help in obtaining the crown licence to hold in mortmain Fromond's manor of Fernhill and moiety of Allington. After his death his executors paid to the college, as a gift from him, the sum of one hun-

[1] He also gave the glass now in the side windows, and the figures of the archangels Gabriel and Michael, on either side of the altar, carved by Sir George Frampton, R.A. At the same time the late Dr. Edwin Freshfield, F.S.A., gave the present marble altar and painted reredos. On this occasion the floor of the chantry was lowered to what was believed to be its original level, and the outside steps to the door consequently disappeared. These steps are shown in the woodcut at p. 241 of Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges* (1852).

[2] Vol. vii, no. 349 (July 1898).

[3] Bursars' accounts, 1411–12; College *Liber Albus*, fo. 39.



Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., ——, photo.

Fromond's chantry: view of the vault

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

Fig. 1. Head of Beaufort on chantry vault

Fig. 2. Head of Beaufort from his effigy in Winchester Cathedral

Fig. 3. Figure of Beaufort, St. Cross, Winchester

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester photos.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

dred pounds, and the college thereupon founded an annual obit to his memory.[1] The money was invested in the purchase of the manor of Buttes at Barkham in Berkshire,[2] but this manor was resold in 1449–50, and the proceeds were afterwards sunk in other properties.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the most important place in the vault, that directly over the altar at the east end of the chantry, was reserved for a representation of the cardinal's head (pl. XXIV, fig. 1). This contemporary portrait of Beaufort would seem to be little known: I have found no allusion to it in the books about him that I have been able to consult. In the last years of his life he may have been going blind, for the portrait discloses a curious cast in his eyes, but one cannot be sure how far that is due to the medieval sculptor or how far to the modern painter. For general comparison's sake the reader may like to see, in conjunction with this portrait, the kneeling figure of the cardinal in the Beaufort tower at the hospital of St. Cross (pl. XXIV, fig. 3), and also his head, reproduced from the full-length effigy on his tomb in the cathedral (pl. XXIV, fig. 2). Here it may be observed that my friend the late Canon John Vaughan fell into an unfortunate error when he stated in his book on *Winchester Cathedral*, at p. 52, that 'there seems to have been originally no effigy on the tomb', and that the present figure 'belongs to the time of Charles II'. He was treating as an established fact an ill-founded supposition of Britton's.

The scheme of decorating the vault of Fromond's chantry with shields of the nobility illustrates, as we shall shortly see, the width of the cardinal's family connexions. The framers of the scheme may or may not have had that object in view, but their scheme certainly helps to bring home to one the fact that the cardinal was uncle or great-uncle to most of the nobles who, only a few years after his death, became engaged, either as Lancastrians or as Yorkists, in that disastrous feud, the War of the Roses. In other words, his sister Joan, the countess of Westmorland, had procured good matches for her children.

One other point here. If for any reason it should be thought that the decoration of the vault was done, not (as I have suggested) in 1445, but rather later, say in or about 1454, it should be noticed that in 1454 Dr. John Baker became warden of the college, and Baker had probably been Cardinal Beaufort's chaplain.[3] I cannot, however, find anything in the college records which suggests that Baker was responsible for the decoration of the vault. I regard it as the work of Warden Thurbern, who died in 1450.[4]

[1] By deed-poll dated 6 Nov. 1447 (Domus drawer, no. 9).

[2] As recited in the deed-poll.

[3] 'Dr. Ihon Baker, his pryvie counseiler and his chappelleyn' (Hall's *Chronicle*, edition of 1809, p. 210).

[4] Thurbern's immediate successor was Thomas Chandler, who migrated to Oxford as warden of New College in 1454.

On the north side of the cardinal's head are the arms of the see of Winchester: gules, St. Peter's keys crossed with St. Paul's sword and at the base of the shield a star (pl. xxv, fig. 1). This star is somewhat unusual, but it occurs at the cathedral, in a shield of the see on the vault above the consistory court there: also in a fragment of old glass in the great west window. On the south side of the cardinal's head there are his own arms beneath a cardinal's hat: France and England quarterly, a border of Beaufort, gobony silver and azure (pl. xxv, fig. 3).

I will next describe the bosses on the main ridge of the vault, the ridge which runs the length of the chapel from east to west.

1. France and England quarterly: the royal arms, beneath a crown, here standing (it may be presumed) for Henry VI (pl. xxv, fig. 2). The supporters are angels. Henry VI usually had for supporters two antelopes, silver bezanty, but in the great hall at Croydon Palace his shield is supported by angels.[1] There, however, the shield bears the royal arms impaled by the Confessor, an arrangement which Willement followed in the west window of the chantry. In and between 1441 and 1452 Henry VI paid many visits to Winchester College, partly because he was then establishing his own college at Eton on William of Wykeham's model. As a result of Henry's visit in July 1441, William Waynflete left Winchester, where he had been head master since 1430, and soon afterwards became provost of Eton. Coming to Winchester again in November 1444, Henry vowed one hundred nobles to the high altar of the college: the money was spent in procuring a pair of silver-gilt basins from a London goldsmith, John Wynne. At a visit in 1446 he gave the college his second-best robe, and it was converted into vestments for the chapel. After another visit in May 1447, he came again on 19 January 1449, the day on which Waynflete was enthroned as bishop in Winchester Cathedral. In June and July of the same year he was frequently at the college while parliament sat at Winchester. On 16 July he gave to the high altar a tabernacle of gold and precious stones and images of crystals. There were two later visits from him in 1451 and 1452.[2]

2. A human head, which has foliage in lieu of hair (pl. xxv, fig. 5). Scott described it as the head of a girl, but I should prefer to reserve judgement on the question of sex.

3. A shield of our Lord's Passion (pl. xxv, fig. 4).

4. Silver, two chevrons sable between three roses gules (pl. xxv, fig. 6): the arms of William of Wykeham, and the arms now (as always) used as the college arms by each of his two colleges. The carver seems to have given to this shield young lions for supporters. The shield occurs also in two other places in the vaulting. In one case there are no supporters; in the other the supporters are

[1] See Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 36.

[2] As to the dates of Henry VI's visits to the college, see *Notes and Queries*, 12 S., i, 481, 501.

bulls' heads. The bishop's great-nephew and heir, Sir Thomas Wykeham, son of William Perot of Ash, Hants, bore on his seal of arms Perot quartering Wykeham, with a bull's head for crest.[1]

5. France and England quarterly, a silver label (pl. xxv, fig. 8): the arms of the king's eldest or only son. From 1 September 1422, the date when Henry VI, then only nine months old, succeeded his father as king, until 13 October 1453, the date when Henry VI's son Edward was born, there was no one in existence for whom this shield could stand. Its presence in the vault may therefore be thought to indicate that the bosses were not carved until after October 1453. But I see no cogent reason why this shield should not have been carved between 23 April 1445, the date when Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou were married at Titchfield, and 20 June 1446, the date when the college formally accepted Fromond's benefaction. It may have been carved during that period (along with the other bosses) in anticipation of an event which did not happen as soon as was expected. It was certainly desirable that the scheme for decorating the vault should include a shield which would stand for the king's son, for the manor of Allington, a moiety of which the college obtained under Fromond's will, was held as of the honour of Wallingford, which was parcel of the Duchy of Cornwall.[2]

6. This boss was described by Scott as 'the king represented between the powers of good and evil' (pl. xxv, fig. 9).

7. A lion (pl. xxv, fig. 7). This brings us to the end of the main ridge of the vault.[3] I propose, as a convenient course, now to describe other shields or bosses in the vault, in an irregular order, without regard to the exact places occupied by them. A certain number must be omitted, but these are mainly of a horticultural character, or are human heads, of less interest than those which will be mentioned.

8. Silver, a lion purple (for Leon), quartering gules, a golden castle (for Castile) (pl. xxv, fig. 11): the arms assumed by Cardinal Beaufort's father, John of Gaunt, when he claimed the kingdom of Castile in right of his second wife, Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

9. Gold, a cross gules (pl. xxv, fig. 10). Scott gave the shield these tinctures, as he took it to be the shield of De Burgh, earl of Ulster. Given a field of silver, it would stand for our patron saint, St. George. There is therefore room for

[1] Romsey drawer, nos. 9, 12, 13, 17–19 (lands purchased from Sir Thomas Wykeham, Kt.). The arms of Perot were silver, five rowels crosswise sable.

[2] The certificate, dated 24 Nov. 1472, of the homage done for the college moiety of Allington by Warden Baker to Edward IV's son Edward (Allington drawer, no. 38) has, appended to it, a fine example of the prince's seal. There seems to be no evidence of homage done to Henry VI's son.

[3] At the eastern extremity of this ridge there is a boss, not mentioned in the text, of vine leaves and tendrils.

doubt about its original purpose. If we accept its present tinctures, we have here a coat which had descended, together with the earldom of Ulster, to Richard, duke of York, the head of his house from 1415 to 1460. Through his mother, Anne Mortimer, he had inherited this coat from William De Burgh, the earl of Ulster whose daughter and heiress was married in 1352 to Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence. If this shield was really intended to represent the duke of York, it may possibly have been selected from motives of prudence, for it was not as a descendant of the De Burghs that he had his claim to the throne of England. The duke married Cardinal Beaufort's niece, Cecily Nevill, and they were the parents of Edward IV.

10. France and England quarterly, a border of silver (pl. xxv, fig. 12): the arms borne by Henry VI's uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. He was a hot political opponent of Cardinal Beaufort. In February 1446/7, about six weeks before the cardinal's death, Gloucester died somewhat mysteriously while he was under arrest with a view to his being impeached in parliament. We may dismiss as mythical the story which makes the cardinal responsible for Gloucester's death. It will be perpetuated by an imperishable drama, but is no longer tolerable in serious history. Scott attributed this shield to Thomas, duke of Gloucester, i. e. Thomas of Woodstock, but Thomas, who died in 1397, used France ancient, not France modern. The shield has for supporters a pair of meek griffons. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, may be regarded as a benefactor of Winchester College with respect to the manor of Barton at Whippingham. Cardinal Beaufort having procured from Henry VI a crown licence for the college to acquire this manor, the usual inquisition *ad quod damnum* was held at Winchester on 1 June 1439.[1] The jury found favourably for the college on the question of damage as regards the crown, but they also found that the manor was held of the duke of Gloucester, as lord of Carisbrooke Castle. Consequently it could not be appropriated to the college without the duke's consent, which he thereupon gave by deed dated at Caversham near Reading on 3 February 1439/40.[2]

11. A shield which bears gules, a saltire silver (? for Nevill), quartering silver, three fusils gules (? for Montacute): a pair of stags as supporters (pl. xxvi, fig. 1). In assigning this shield to Nevill, earl of Salisbury, Scott was probably aware of its defects. The 1st and 4th quarters lack the label (gobony silver and sable) whereby Richard Nevill, earl of Salisbury, usually differenced his paternal coat. Moreover, the limbs of the saltire are cut short. In the 2nd and 3rd quarters, if they were intended for Montacute, the fusils should have been in fess, and not arranged two and one. In spite of these defects, I am inclined to accept Scott's explanation of the shield, partly because I have none better to

[1] Barton drawer, no. 103. [2] *Ibid.*, nos. 105, 106.

offer, and partly for the following reason. The overlordship of Fromond's manor of Fernhill belonged to Richard Nevill or rather to his wife Alice, daughter and heiress of Thomas Montacute, his predecessor in the earldom. Without their consent to the transaction, no effective licence could be had from the crown, to enable the college to hold the manor in mortmain. They gave their consent by deed dated 5 July 1445.[1] In these circumstances one would expect to find, among the shields in the chantry vault, one which commemorates the earl and his countess. The earl was Cardinal Beaufort's nephew, a son of his sister Joan.

12. Gold, a chevron gules (pl. xxvi, fig. 3): the paternal coat of Humphrey Stafford, born in 1402, and slain, fighting on the Lancastrian side, at the battle of Northampton in 1460. Upon his father's death in 1403, he became earl of Stafford. His mother, who died in 1438, was Ann, daughter of Edward III's son, Thomas of Woodstock, and through her he inherited the earldoms of Buckingham, Hereford, Northampton, and Essex. Henry VI created him duke of Buckingham in 1444. He married the cardinal's niece, Ann Nevill.

13. Gold, three roundels gules, a label azure (pl. xxv, fig. 2): the paternal coat of Thomas Courtenay, who succeeded his father Hugh as earl of Devon in 1422, and died in 1458. He married the cardinal's niece, Margaret Beaufort, daughter of his brother John, earl of Somerset. One of the earliest documents which the college possesses, relating to the manor of Fernhill, is a grant of lands made to Richard, son of Ranulph of Fernille, by William Vernon, who was earl of Devon from about 1193 to 1217. Upon the death in 1292 of Isabel de Fortz, countess of Aumale and Devon, Hugh Courtenay (ancestor of the above-mentioned Hugh) obtained the earldom of Devon as heir of the said William Vernon. This may explain why the arms of Courtenay are in the chantry vault.

14. Gules, a lion gold (for Fitz-Alan), quartering sable fretty gold (for Maltravers) (pl. xxvi, fig. 4): the shield of the earls of Arundel. The supporters are falcons which have a strap hanging from the beak. William, younger son of John, the earl of Arundel who died in 1421, was born in 1417, and succeeded to the earldom in 1438, upon the death of his nephew Humphrey. In 1423 his mother Eleanor, who was daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverstone, Gloucestershire, took as her second husband Sir Richard Poynings. This Richard, who died in 1430 (in his father's lifetime), was eldest son of Robert, Lord Poynings, and had two younger brothers, Edward, who became master

[1] Fernhill drawer, Fromond's title, no. 24. In return the college granted to the earl and countess and the heirs of her body a relief of £4 6*s.* 8*d.* payable out of the manor upon every vacancy in the office of warden (no. 25). This relief was paid on Warden Thurbern's death in 1450, but apparently on no later occasion.

of Arundel College, and Robert (born in 1419), who became father of the better-known Sir Edward Poynings, the author of 'Poynings' law' for Ireland.[1] In the will, or rather in notes for the will, of Sir Richard Poynings, his step-son is styled 'William Arundel'.[2] With these facts to hand, one can readily identify three boys who were fellow commoners at Winchester College from 1430 to 1433, and whose names, as entered in the college hall-books, were 'Arundell', 'R. Ponyngs', and 'E. Ponyngs'. They were the future earl and his step-father's brothers. Throughout his long life, which lasted to December 1487, the earl took a lively interest in the affairs of the college at which he had been educated under Waynflete; and when Waynflete had founded Magdalen College, Oxford, the earl showed his affection for his old head master by establishing there the famous Arundel mass. His wife was Cardinal Beaufort's great-niece, Joan, daughter of Richard Nevill, earl of Salisbury.

15. Gold, a lion azure (for Percy), quartering gules, three luces silver (for Lucy) (pl. xxvi, fig. 6): the arms of Harry Hotspur's son, Henry Percy, who was restored in 1414 to the earldom of Northumberland, forfeited for treason by his grandfather, the first earl. He married Cardinal Beaufort's niece, Eleanor Nevill, and was slain, on the Lancastrian side, at the battle of St. Albans, 23 May 1455. The supporters of the shield would seem to be hounds.

16. Barry gold and vert, a baston gules (for Poynings), quartering gules, three leopards silver, a baston azure (for FitzPayn) (pl. xxvi, fig. 5). The supporters seem to be unicorns, but one of them has lost his horn. The arms are those of Robert, Lord Poynings, who died on 2 October 1446.[3] As has already been stated, his younger sons Robert and Edward were educated at the college. His heiress was his granddaughter Eleanor, daughter of his eldest son Sir Richard Poynings. At some uncertain date before 31 October 1446,[4] she was married to Cardinal Beaufort's great-nephew, Henry Percy, eldest son of the above-mentioned earl of Northumberland, and from 14 December 1446 to 23 May 1455 her husband enjoyed, in her right, a seat in parliament as Lord Poynings. Scott attributed the shield we are considering to Lord St. John of Basing, apparently meaning thereby Sir Thomas Poynings of Basing, who died in March 1428/9, and who had inherited the barony of St. John of Basing

[1] *Complete Peerage* (1st edition), vi, 300, *in notis*.

[2] Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 217. For his will, see P. C. C. 14 Luffenham (1430).

[3] His maternal grandfather, a De Grey by birth, was nephew of the second Lord FitzPayn, and assumed the name and arms of FitzPayn in consequence of this Lord FitzPayn's dispositions of the FitzPayn estates. See the article on FitzPayn in the *Complete Peerage*, vol. v (1921), pp. 685 *et seqq*.

[4] This is the date of the inquisition taken at Bramber, Sussex, whereby *Alianora, vxor Henrici Percy, militis*, was found to be her grandfather's heir (P. R. O., Chancery Inq. p.m. 25 Hen. VI, no. 24).

through his mother Isabel, daughter and eventually sole heiress of Sir Hugh St. John. But this Sir Thomas Poynings had no claim to quarter FitzPayn.

17. Gules, a fess between six crosslets fitchy gold (for Beauchamp, but the crosslets should not be fitchy), quartering lozengy (but it should be checky) gold and azure, a chevron ermine (for Newburgh) (pl. xxvi, fig. 7). The supporters are the Warwick bears in chains. These are the arms, ill blazoned, of Henry Beauchamp, who was born in 1424, and succeeded his father Richard as earl of Warwick in 1439. Henry VI created him duke of Warwick in 1444. He died on 11 June 1446. When he was ten years old he was married to Cardinal Beaufort's great-niece, Cecily Nevill, daughter of Richard, earl of Salisbury. I have described the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the shield as lozengy gold and azure, for so Scott painted them, but the field seems to have been carved fretty. Possibly the carver muddled the Beauchamps' Newburgh quartering with the Despenser quartering[1] which they also used. The question for whom the shield was intended is settled by the supporters, the Warwick bears.

18. France and England quarterly, a border of France (azure, charged with gold fleurs-de-lis). The supporters are soldans whose bodies fade into foliage (pl. xxvi, fig. 9). I cannot trace the owner of this shield, and should welcome a satisfactory explanation of it. Scott described it as the coat of the earl of Pembroke, afterwards duke of Bedford. If he meant by these titles to refer to Henry VI's uterine brother, Jasper Tudor (created earl of Pembroke in March 1452/3 and duke of Bedford in 1485), he was scarcely correct: for Jasper's border was charged with martlets, and not with fleurs-de-lis.[2] The shield has a nearer resemblance to that of Jasper's elder brother, Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, the father of Henry VII, but in Edmund's border the fleurs-de-lis were alternated with martlets:[3] in short, his azure border was France and the Confessor combined. If the shield was carved in 1445, it seems unlikely that it was intended for either of these brothers, who remained in obscurity until knighted by Henry VI in December 1449. Edmund did not marry the cardinal's great-niece, Margaret Beaufort, until 1455.

19. Silver, a lion sable, on a chief sable two pairs of keys addorsed and conjoined silver (pl. xxvi, fig. 8): the arms of Hyde Abbey, Winchester. These arms are often blazoned with a single pair of keys,[4] but there are two pairs on the

[1] Quarterly silver and gules fretty gold with a baston sable.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Seals*, ii, 360 (nos. 6483, 6485).

[3] His arms with this border, impaling Beaufort, are on the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort. See *Historical Monuments Commission*, 'Westminster Abbey', 1924, p. 68 *a*.

[4] As in *V. C. H. Hants*, iv, 123; Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 371.

seal of Abbot Nicholas Strode, as set to a document dated 5 August 1425.[1] In 1427 the college gave 6*s.* 8*d.* to this abbot's cousin on her marriage with John Shapwyk, esquire of the abbey.[2] There is reason to think that Fromond had been land steward to this abbot as well as to the college,[3] and that is perhaps the reason why the abbey arms are in his chantry.

20. Silver, a fess engrailed sable between three chaplets of holly leaves (pl. XXVII, fig. 1): the arms of Nicholas Bubbewyth, who was bishop of London in 1406, of Salisbury in 1407, and of Bath and Wells from 1408 until his death in 1424. After the bishop's death, his executors gave to the college a set of vestments of red bordealisandre with orphreys of a green or glaucous colour.[4] It may be conjectured therefore that he had had some connexion with the college, now forgotten.

21. Silver, a mill-rind cross[5] gules (pl. XXVII, fig. 2): the arms of Uvedale, of Titsey, Surrey, and Wickham, Hants. The ties which this family had, not only with the college, but also with its founder, are well known. Sir John Scures, lord of Wickham, the founder's birth-place, left at his death in 1353 a son John and also a daughter Sibil, who married Sir John Uvedale of Titsey. On the death of her brother John in 1381, Sibil was his heir, and thus the manor of Wickham came to the Uvedales: they held it for three hundred and fifty years. Sir John Uvedale had by Sibil three sons and a daughter Alice. In July 1396 this daughter was married to the founder's great-nephew, William Wykeham;[6] and between September 1396 and September 1400, the sons (William, John, and a third whose christian name is not recorded) were receiving, by the founder's directions, a free education at the college as fellow commoners.[7] William succeeded his father at Wickham, and dying without issue in 1449 was then succeeded by his brother John. John had two sons, Thomas and William, and from 1423 to 1425 these boys were fellow commoners at the college.[8] Thomas was created a Knight of the Bath in May 1465, at the

[1] Andover drawer, no. 41 *a*. In the east window of the chantry there is a fragment of the arms of the abbey with two pairs of keys. There are also two pairs on the shield which is in the vault (*c.* 1485) of Thurbern's chantry on the south side of the college chapel.

[2] Bursars' accounts, 1426–7.

[3] In a collection of notes about Fromond which the late F. J. Baigent gave to me, there is a note of a document recording that on 2 Oct. 7 Hen. V (1419) John, the son and heir of John de Insula, knight, did homage to the abbot of Hyde, one of the witnesses being 'Johanne Fromond senescallo terrarum dicti Abbatis de Hyda'. Unfortunately the note does not state where this document can be found.

[4] College *Liber Albus*, fo. 38 *d*.

[5] See *The Ancestor*, iv, 250; Hope's *Grammar of English Heraldry*, p. 111. It has often been called 'a cross moline'.

[6] Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, Appendices II, IV.

[7] College accounts: fragment of hall-book, 1396–7: roll of extraordinary expenses, 1395–1400.

[8] Hall-books.

coronation of Edward IV's consort Elizabeth, and was in attendance upon the queen when she visited the college in May 1470.[1]

22. Silver, on a chief gules two harts' heads gold (pl. XXVII, fig. 3): the arms of Popham, of Popham, Faringdon, and Binstead, Hants. The supporters are rams. The Pophams were another family which had ties with the college. In 1399 two sons of Henry Popham were at the college as fellow commoners.[2] In 1404 this Henry Popham was a legatee under the founder's will, the legacy being a silver cup or other jewel of the value of one hundred marks.[3] There was a like legacy to Sir John Uvedale. After Richard Wallop senior had parted with Fromond's lands at Fernhill to certain feoffees for the benefit of Richard Wallop junior, Sir Stephen Popham intervened in the interests of the college, and in 1431 he joined with Wallop's feoffees in conveying the property to Sir Maurice Berkeley, John Halle, and others who had sided with the college in the dispute with Wallop.[4] In September 1464 Warden Baker's yeoman, Stephen Houlett, rode to London to fetch some damask altar cloths which had been given to the college by the executors of Sir John Popham.[5]

23. Gules, a chevron between ten crosses formy silver (pl. XXVII, fig. 4): the arms of Berkeley. The supporters are the Berkeley mermaids. Sir John Berkeley, of Beverstone, who died in 1427, had married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Bettesthorne, and she brought to her husband's branch of the Berkeley family the Hampshire manors of Bisterne, Minstead, and East Willow.[6] Their daughter Eleanor, who became countess of Arundel, has already been mentioned. Their son and heir, Sir Maurice Berkeley, and his own sons Maurice and Edward are frequently noticed in the college accounts as visitors who came sometimes on business and sometimes for pleasure. In 1462–3 the commoners there included a Berkeley.[7] I have already stated that Sir Maurice Berkeley became one of the feoffees of Fernhill in 1431. In 1442 he and his co-feoffees transferred the manor to Thomas Beckington (who was then Henry VI's secretary), and Nicholas Ossulbury (who was then warden of New College, Oxford) and other persons.[8] Beckington thereupon took the lead in getting the manor appropriated to the college.

Scott ascribed the Berkeley shield in the chantry vault to Thomas Lord Berkeley, admiral of the fleet to Henry IV: which Thomas died in 1417. Maybe the mermaid supporters made Scott think it necessary to connect the shield with a sailor. An earlier Thomas Lord Berkeley, who died in 1321,

[1] Bursars' accounts, 1469–70.
[2] Bursars' accounts: roll of extraordinary expenses.
[3] Lowth, p. 394.
[4] Fernhill drawer, Fromond's title, nos. 17, 20.
[5] Bursars' accounts, 1464–5.
[6] *V. C. H. Hants*, iv, 537, 609, 636.
[7] Hall-book, 1462–3.
[8] Fernhill drawer, Fromond's title, nos. 21, 22.

seems to have been the first of his family to adopt the mermaids as supporters.[1] His descendant, Sir Maurice, used them on his seal of arms which he affixed in 1442 to the above-mentioned conveyance of Fernhill.

24. A shield charged with three sickles (pl. xxvii, fig. 7). The supporters are: on the right side, a peasant playing a pipe, and on the left, a manciple who holds in his left hand a flagon and in his right a ladle. The ladle is above the shield. In 'Glover's Ordinary of Arms' (Cotton MS., Tiberius D. 10, p. 369, otherwise fo. 104 *b*) a shield, gules, three sickles, blades silver, handles gold, is assigned to 'Sawsesele', and this shield is duly noticed in Papworth's useful book, at p. 948. Scott, having to paint the chantry shield as best he could, adopted the tinctures just mentioned, and wrote the coat down as 'Sawsesele or Sawsefele'. 'Sassell' seems to be the modern form of this surname,[2] about which I am sadly ignorant. My difficulty in accepting what was merely a shot on Scott's part is inability to trace this surname, in any form, in the college records. No one of that name had, so far as is now known, any connexion with the college or with Fromond or his chantry. The late Francis Joseph Baigent, of Winchester, who died in his 88th year on 7 March 1918, took a lifelong interest in all that concerned Fromond's chantry.[3] His view, as he expressed it to me more than once, was that the implements on the shield in question should be styled, not sickles, but hangers, and that we have here the arms (tinctures not known) of Maud Fromond's father, Richard Hanger. But there does not seem to be any evidence that Richard Hanger used these or indeed any arms. Moreover, there is the question whether the implements on the shield can be properly styled hangers.

A shield of sickles would not be a bad canting coat for Thomas Haydock, the college steward who conducted much of the legal business relating to Fromond's benefaction. He was a man of good position, and in January 1441/2 was returned to parliament, together with Sir Stephen Popham, as a knight of the shire for Hampshire. However, Haydock of Greywell or Grewell, the family which this Thomas Haydock founded by purchasing the manor there in 1444,[4] bore, at any rate in Tudor times, silver, a cross and in the quarter a fleur-de-lis sable.[5]

[1] 'His scutcheon was supported at first with two flying serpents, which after he changed into mairemayds, without any greate note of difference': *Lives of the Berkeleys*, by John Smyth of Nibley, edited by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., 1883, vol. i, p. 219.

[2] Berry's *Dictionary of Arms*.

[3] His father, Richard Baigent, who died in 1881, was for fifty years the drawing master at the college.

[4] *V. C. H. Hants*, iv, 77.

[5] Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 7098, fo. 98 *b* (Visitation of Hants, 1552–3).

Fig. 1 (p. 148)

Fig. 2 (p. 148)

Fig. 3 (p. 148)

Fig. 4 (p. 148)

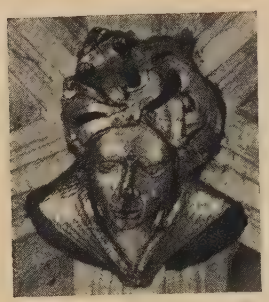


Fig. 5 (p. 148)

Fig. 6 (p. 148)

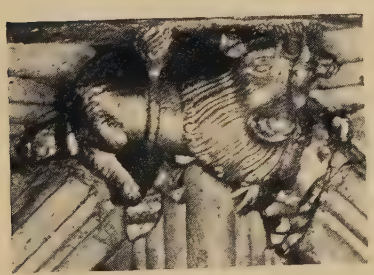


Fig. 7 (p. 149)

Fig. 8 (p. 149)

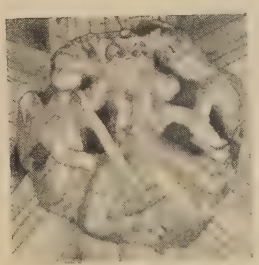


Fig. 9 (p. 149)

Fig. 10 (p. 149)

Fig. 11 (p. 149)

Fig. 12 (p. 150)

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester, photos.

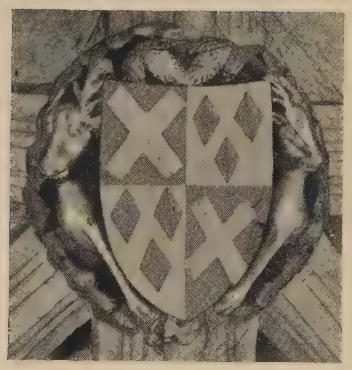


Fig. 1 (p. 150)

Fig. 2 (p. 151)

Fig. 3 (p. 151)

Fig. 4 (p. 151)

Fig. 5 (p. 152)

Fig. 6 (p. 152)

Fig. 7 (p. 153)

Fig. 8 (p. 153)

Fig. 9 (p. 153)

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester, photos.

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Fig. 1 (p. 154)

Fig. 2 (p. 154)

Fig. 3 (p. 155)

Fig. 4 (p. 155)

Fig. 5 (p. 157)

Fig. 6 (p. 157)

Fig. 7 (p. 156)

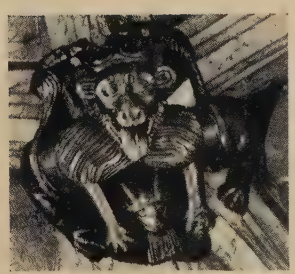

Fig. 8 (p. 157)

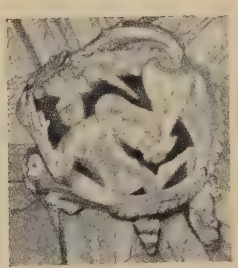

Fig. 9 (p. 157)

Fig. 10 (p. 157)

Fig. 11 (p. 157)

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester, photos.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

Fig. 1 (p. 142)

Fig. 2 (p. 157)

Fig. 3 (p. 158)

Fig. 4 (p. 158)

Fig. 5 (p. 158)

Fig. 6 (p. 158)

Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S., Gloucester, photos.

25. A white hart lodged (pl. XXVII, fig. 5): the badge of Richard II, in whose reign the college was founded.

26. Either a yale or a wild antelope (pl. XXVII, fig. 6). Scott gilded the creature, but we are at liberty to imagine it white with yellow spots (silver bezanty). As I understand the treatises on the subject,[1] the difference between a yale and an antelope is rather subtle. If one thinks that the carver or artist supposed that the beast could make its horns revolve in their sockets, then it is a yale, however much it may look like an antelope: otherwise, it is an antelope, however much it may look like a yale. If the creature here shown should be regarded as a badge, it may be either the yale of the Beauforts or the antelope of Henry VI. Maybe it is not a badge, but only a grotesque.

27. A monstrous lion, crowned as king of beasts, and standing over the skull of an ox he lately devoured (pl. XXVII, fig. 8). Perhaps it was this meal which enables one to see both his flanks at once. Having apparently only four legs, he is not exactly two-bodied, though he boasts two tails.

28. A ghastly scene: a naked man in the coils of a dragon which is about to nip off his head or to swallow him up at a single gulp (pl. XXVII, fig. 9).

29. A cat riding in triumph on a hound, after a successful rat-hunt. He blows his horn: his victim dangles from a stick slung across his shoulder (pl. XXVII, fig. 10).

30. A fox, having captured a goose, is offering it to a parson who is reading his breviary (pl. XXVII, fig. 11). The parson may be reluctant to receive stolen goods, but he has for clerk an ape who is gnawing the drumstick of a goose, and has expectations of another like meal. A satire on church officials.

31. At the south-west corner of the chantry, near the door to the turret by which the upstairs chamber is reached, there is the head of a mitred bishop (pl. XXVII, fig. 2). As a boy I was instructed that this was a portrait of Waynflete. If it be Waynflete's portrait, then the carvings in the chantry were not completed until after the death of Cardinal Beaufort. Possibly it represents another great Wykehamist, Thomas Beckington, who became bishop of Bath and Wells in 1443. But it may be, not a portrait, but only an ornamental corbel, and I can offer no definite opinion about it, except that there is no evidence whatever that it represents Waynflete.

In 1854, when Willement's glass was put into the west window of the chantry, some book-shelves which were over the doorway and under the window had to be removed, and thus it was discovered that the ornamental stone-work

[1] 'Notes on the History of the Heraldic Jall or Yale', by George C. Druce, *Archaeological Journal*, lxviii, 173; 'A Note on the Jall or Yale in Heraldry', by W. H. St. John Hope, *ibid.*, 200.

included four little figures or devices set in square quatrefoiled panels.[1] Baigent, then a young man, contributed an article on this discovery to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.[2] The figures, taken from south to north, are:

A crowned leopard with Fromond's shield strapped to it (pl. XXVIII, fig. 3).

A mitre over a human heart, all within a wreath of roses (pl. XXVIII, fig. 4).

A griffon at war with a dragon, upon whose body it stands. The griffon is chewing a gobbet torn from the dragon's tail, and the dragon is biting one of the griffon's hind legs (pl. XXVIII, fig. 5).

Apparently a creature half man half beast. He is blowing a trumpet held in the right hand. With the left he holds a battle-axe, now somewhat damaged. From a strap passed round his neck hangs a square board with Fromond's arms thereon (pl. XXVIII, fig. 6).

Baigent suggested that in the wreathed mitre and heart we have a device used by Waynflete; and Bedford in his *Blazon of Episcopy*[3] has treated this suggestion as a certainty. Baigent's reason for the suggestion was that Waynflete is represented in the effigy upon his tomb as holding a heart between his hands.[4] But the device in question does not occur among those with which the bishop's chantry is ornamented, nor does it occur at his college in Oxford. It has, in short, nothing to do with Waynflete. Possibly it signifies that Fromond had given whole-hearted service to the bishopric, but an ornament does not necessarily have any meaning.

In conclusion it may be said that the best period of heraldry had passed away before the shields were carved in Fromond's chantry, and some of the shields would appear to be faulty.[5] On the other hand, several of the non-heraldic bosses are delightful works of art, and one would like to hear of other bosses, in some other building, which were carved by the same cunning hand.

For the illustrations to this paper I am indebted to Mr. Sydney A. Pitcher, of College Court, Gloucester.

[1] This stonework was painted, but not satisfactorily, in or at some date after 1854.

[2] Vol. x, p. 158. With Baigent's description of the figures compare Gunner's, *Archaeological Journal*, xvi, 168.

[3] 2nd edition, p. 122.

[4] Similarly, in a window at St. Mary's, Ross, there is the figure of a bishop kneeling and offering up a heart between his hands. See Drake's *History of English Glass-Painting*, pl. XI.

[5] Nicholas Upton (1400–57), the author of *De Militari Officio*, was a Wykehamist, but there seems to be no evidence that he was consulted about the heraldry for the chantry. He gave the college library *Augustinus super Johannem*, a gift which has perished.

VII.—*The Order of Grandmont and its Houses in England.* *By Miss* Rose Graham, *M.A., F.S.A., and* A. W. Clapham, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 23rd April 1925

PART I. THE ORDER

By Rose Graham

The Foundation of the Order

St. Stephen of Muret founded the Order of Grandmont about 1076 in the diocese of Limoges. More than sixty years after his death in 1124, Gerard Itier, the seventh prior of Grandmont, wrote his life,[1] and it is difficult to reconcile some of the dates with known historical facts.

Stephen was the son of Stephen, viscount of Thiers in Auvergne, and was born about 1046. When he was a youth his father took him on a pilgrimage to the south of Italy;[2] not, as Gerard wrote, to the shrine of St. Nicholas at Bari, so famous in the twelfth century, for the body of the saint was not translated from Myra in Lycia in Asia Minor until 1087.[3] It is probable that they visited the sanctuary of St. Michael on Mount Gargano, which had attracted pilgrims since the seventh century.[4] Stephen was very ill in the city of Benevento, and his father left him in the care of the archbishop. He stayed there for some years, and studied in the schools of the city. He visited a colony of hermits in the mountains of Calabria, who had left the world to live a life of contemplation, and had renounced all possessions; although they owned neither land nor cattle, they found such favour with God and men that they never lacked food or clothing. Stephen was fired by their example to return to his own country and found a hermitage. He visited Pope Gregory VII in Rome,[5] but a papal bull of 1074 authorizing Stephen to found a new monastic order

[1] Vita S. Stephani, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cciv, pp. 1006–71; M. Haureau, 'Sur quelques écrivains de l'Ordre de Grandmont', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. xxiv, pp. 251–2.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.*, p. 1011.

[3] Chevalier, *Bio-bibliographie*, p. 1638.

[4] E. Male, *L'Art Religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (ed. 1922), pp. 257, 258.

[5] Migne, *op. cit.*, p. 1014.

in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict was forged late in the history of Grandmont.[1]

After visiting his parents and kinsfolk in Auvergne, Stephen wandered westwards in search of a solitude until he came to the mountains of the Limousin. In 1076 he built a hut of branches and twigs in a wood on a desolate mountain called Muret, a few miles north of Limoges. He was then in his thirtieth year, and he lived at Muret in extreme asceticism for forty-eight years until his death in 1124.[2] He had only one meal a day of bread made of rye and the bitter berries of the service tree, he drank water, and in old age a little wine. He slept on wooden boards without straw, and wore the same dress in summer and winter. He was cheerful, courteous, and kind to all who came to him for spiritual help. The fame of his holy life attracted men and women, rich and poor, who brought alms for Stephen and the disciples who gathered round him. They built an oratory and separate cells, which still survived in the sixteenth century.[3]

After Stephen's death in 1124 the Benedictines of St. Augustine at Limoges made a claim to the site of Muret, and the brethren at once sought for a new home. While the prior, Peter of Limoges, was celebrating mass, and the brethren were offering prayers for guidance, suddenly in the *Agnus Dei*, a voice from heaven was heard by them crying out 'To Grandmont'.

The mountain of Grandmont was a desolate spot about seventeen miles north of Limoges, in the county of La Marche, and only three miles from Muret. Amelin de Montcocu gave the site, the lay brothers built a temporary church and dwellings with all possible speed, and the rest of the brethren removed from Muret to Grandmont in 1125, bringing with them the body of their founder, which they buried in the presbytery.[4] Miracles of healing are said to have occurred, and as the brethren wished to remain in solitude, the fourth prior, Stephen Lissac, removed the founder's body to a tomb in the cloister outside the chapter-house.[5] Before the middle of the twelfth century the separate cells of the hermitage were replaced by the usual monastic buildings ranged around a cloister. Sixty years after the foundation Prior Gerard Itier described the place in these words: 'Grandmont is stern and very cold, unfertile and rocky, misty and exposed to the winds. The water is colder and worse than in other

[1] L. Delisle, 'Examen de treize chartes de l'Ordre de Grandmont', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. xx, pp. 172, 173, 188.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.*, pp. 1015–26.

[3] A. Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont* (reprinted from *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, vols. lvii-lx, p. 14).

[4] Migne, *op. cit.*, pp. 1028, 1029.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 1030, 1033.

places, for it produces sickness instead of health. The mountain abounds in great stones for building, in streams, and sand, but there is scarcely any timber for building. The land around the monastery scarcely ever suffices to provide necessaries, for the soil is so unfertile, sterile, and barren. At the foot of the mountain there are vines and fruit-trees which bear well, when they are not spoilt by cold and lack of sunshine; and also meadows, gardens, and arable fields The place which was chosen by God is a solitude for penitence and religion, and those who dwell there lead a hard life.'[1]

Grandmont is now a little hamlet, consisting of a narrow street of stone houses, and at the end of it a small square chapel, built with some of the stones when the monastery was destroyed about 1825, still keeps the abbey in remembrance. The road winds up hill all the way for five miles from the town of Ambazac, passing the village of St. Sylvestre on the way to Grandmont. Standing outside the chapel, the view is unchanged since the brethren came from Muret 600 years ago to build the monastery. There are high ridges of bare hills with granite outcrops, and in the late autumn they are lit up with the vivid purple of the heather and brilliant russet of the bracken, which owe their marvellous colouring to the sunshine of the south. On the way down to St. Sylvestre little patches of Indian corn and buckwheat appear, and lower still there are apple-trees and Spanish chestnuts. The country recalls the heart of Dartmoor with more fertile valleys.

The Rule of Grandmont

Stephen divided the brethren into clerks and lay brothers. The clerks were set absolutely free from the care of things temporal to spend their lives in prayer and contemplation; the lay brothers tilled the soil, took charge of the money, and were solely responsible for the business of the house. He gave them no written Rule, for he said 'In my Father's house there are many mansions, and there are many ways which lead to it. These diverse ways have been commended in writing by divers of the Fathers, and they are called the Rules of St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Benedict. These are not the source of the religious life but only its offshoots, they are not the root but only the leaves. The Rule from which all others derive, like streams flowing from a single source, is the Holy Gospel.'[2] After Stephen's death, the brethren wrote down all they could remember of his teaching, and Hugh de La Certa, the lord of the castle of Chalus, who had become a brother at Muret in 1111, compiled the work

[1] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. xxiv, p. 255.

[2] Migne, *op. cit.*, pp. 1135, 1136.

which is known as the Rule of St. Stephen.[1] It consists mainly of the precepts of the founder, purporting to be in his own words, of which the following is a brief summary:

'My brethren, you will go to some poor place where there are neither buildings nor books, and you will not shrink from poverty. A wood is a suitable spot in which to build a cell and live by toil. Ask the owner for his wood, but never for a written deed of gift as evidence in a court of law. Never build on land belonging to monks, for one abbot may receive you gladly, but his successor may change his mind. Wherever you build, see that you harm no one; those who hated you when you first began to build in solitary places will love you afterwards and confer many benefits on you. You are not to accept land outside the bounds of your site, for if you get one piece, you will want the bit next to it, and your greed will never end. You may receive rents from land as alms, but if an heir of the donor withholds it, you must never go to law with him. You must not keep animals and breed them, for then you will want pastures, and the people will say: "Would that these hermits had never come here, for they multiply their possessions and are a hindrance to us." Ask the bishop of the diocese for his permission to build, and invite him to consecrate the church and bless the cemetery. You must not allow people who ought to go to their parish church to come often to mass in your church, and you must not go out to visit the sick or the dying, if the parish priest can go to them. If you are reduced to such straits of poverty that you have no food left you must send two of your brethren to the bishop to ask him for help, and if he will not hear you, and you have eaten nothing for two days, send two of the brethren to ask alms at mills and houses, as other poor folk must, but do not go to beg from your friends. I have remained in my hermitage for nearly fifty years, some of them years of plenty, others of scarcity, but I have always had enough. So will it be with you if you keep my commandments. Show hospitality to all men, and you will never miss it. Give alms to the poor and accept any small offering which they may bring you. You are never to go out to markets and fairs, but ask a friend to buy anything needful.'

A lay brother called the dispensator or steward was responsible for distributing food and clothing, and for seeing that the sick and old were cared for in the infirmary. In his work called *The Mirror of Grandmont*,[2] Prior Gerard Itier wrote: 'Both clerks and lay brothers share one church, cloister, chapter-house, refectory and dormitory; there is no distinction in their dress or tonsure. They wear sackcloth next their skins, that is clothing made of very coarse

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 1137-62; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. xxiv, pp. 265-7.

[2] *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xxiv, pp. 256-60.

flax or hemp, and over that a brown tunic, a scapular or short cloak with a round hood, woollen gaiters, and leather shoes.[1] In church all wear surplices. They never use meat or lard in health or in sickness. From 15th September to Easter they fast continuously except on Sundays and Christmas Day; from All Saints' Day to Christmas and from Septuagesima to Easter they abstain even from eggs and cheese; from Easter to 15th September they eat twice a day except on special fasts. When they have entered the solitude of the Order, they never go back to this world, either on business or to visit their kinsfolk, or to make purchases at markets and fairs, or to appear in courts of law, but they are as men who are dead to this world.' Giraldus Cambrensis, who had probably seen Prior Gerard Itier's book, *The Mirror of Grandmont*, before he described the Grandmontines in his *Mirror of the Church*,[2] explained that in every town and manor their patrons gave them a man with his house and his heirs, so that in case of need the brethren could lodge with him, and they entrusted all their business to him, and he was bound to serve them. 'No beast of the female sex is allowed within the bounds of Grandmont', he added, 'but on account of their poverty, the brethren have a dispensation to keep cattle and sheep and animals in their other houses.' Walter Mapes noted that St. Stephen allowed the brethren to keep bees, which could not harm their neighbours.[3] 'They have shut out avarice and embraced poverty', wrote Stephen, bishop of Tournai, 'and their prayers are not disturbed by the baaing of sheep and the lowing of oxen.'[4] They imitate Christ in their lives', wrote John of Salisbury.[5] They were familiarly called the Bons Hommes and charters were granted to the prior and Boni Homines of Grandmont.[6]

As such desolate sites were chosen by the Grandmontines for their houses, only a small number of brethren could live in each cell. Even in the life of the founder, some of the brethren had been sent out from Muret to find other refuges;[7] under Prior Stephen Lissac, between 1139 and 1163, sixty houses were founded, and the number increased rapidly until there were over 140.[8] About the middle of the twelfth century Grandmont and its cells were organized as an Order, and every year on the feast of St. John the Baptist, 24th June, the head of each cell, called the corrector, and the chief lay brother, called the

[1] *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xxiv, p. 257.
[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, &c., iv, pp. 257, 258 (Rolls Series).
[3] *Gualteri Mapes De Nugis Curialium*, ed. T. Wright (Camden Soc.), Distinct. I, cap. xvii, p. 28.
[4] *Epistolae*, pars ii, no. lxxi; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. ccxi, p. 361.
[5] *Joannis Sarisberiensis . . . Policratici . . . libri VIII*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, vol. ii, pp. 204–6.
[6] *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. i, pp. 7, 194 (Rolls Series).
[7] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cciv, p. 1189.
[8] *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, ed. Beaunier et Besse, Introduction, p. 185.

curiosus, came to a general chapter at Grandmont.[1] A clerk and a lay brother came from each cell to a special general chapter to elect the prior of the Order; they chose six clerks and six lay brothers and swore to accept the prior of their choice; if a minority of the twelve disagreed, the general chapter chose other electors in their place.[2] The prior was bound never to leave Grandmont.

The Church of Grandmont

It is known from Prior Gerard Itier's *Life of St. Stephen* that the church of Grandmont was being built between 1139 and 1163. Gerald, the master of the works, had a terrible fall; the masons and workmen hastened to fetch Prior Stephen Lissac, and it is related that through the intercession of the brethren at the altar of the Virgin and at the tomb of the founder, Gerald recovered by a miracle.[3] Jean Levesque, who compiled *The Annals of Grandmont*, printed in 1662, noted that large sums of money were given by the Empress Matilda and her son Henry, first when duke of Normandy and afterwards when king of England.[4] In the presbytery of the parish church of Ambazac, between Limoges and Grandmont, there is a dalmatic of reddish-purple silk with yellow arabesques of two-headed eagles in circles, which, according to a fifteenth-century inventory of Grandmont, was given to St. Stephen by the Empress Matilda.[5] It was more probably her gift to Prior Stephen Lissac, for she was the wife of the Emperor Henry V of Germany until two years after St. Stephen's death in 1124, and did not come to France as the wife of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, until 1128.[6] Moreover, it is probable that the interest shown by the Empress Matilda and Henry II in the building of Grandmont was aroused after his marriage in 1152 with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII, king of France. Thereby Henry added to his late father's counties of Anjou and Touraine the duchy of Aquitaine, which included the counties of Poitou and Gascony and the overlordship of the land between the Loire and the Pyrenees[7] with the county of La Marche, in which Grandmont was situated.

In 1166 the church of Grandmont was sufficiently advanced for consecration, and the archbishop of Bourges dedicated it in honour of the Virgin, and presented relics of eleven eastern martyrs.[8] The archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops

[1] Jean Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis* (1662), pp. 118–21; cf. Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. cciv, pp. 1037, 1160.
[2] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. cciv, pp. 1160, 1161.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 1032, 1033.
[4] Levesque, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
[5] Victor Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique*, pp. 467, 468; cf. Courtibaut.
[6] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 54–8.
[7] Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. i, pp. 393, 394.
[8] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, P. Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, p. 317.

of Limoges, Angoulême, Cahors, Séez, and others were present, and monks from the Cluniac abbey of St. Martial at Limoges brought relics of St. Martial. In 1167, on the morrow of the general chapter of the Order, the bishop of Limoges solemnly translated the founder's body from the tomb in the cloister to the church,[1] and it appears to have rested for twenty-two years in the chapel of St. Stephen, the burial-place of the priors. The Empress Matilda died in 1167, and the French chronicler, Geoffrey of Vigeois, noted that she gave thirty thousand shillings, of Angevin money, to Grandmont, and Henry II gave as much on her behalf.[2]

In August 1170 Henry II was dangerously ill at his castle of La Motte de Ger, near Domfront. The chronicler of his reign, who is commonly called Benedict of Peterborough, recorded that Henry II gave instructions to his bishops, earls, and barons that, if he should not recover, they should carry his body for burial to Grandmont, and he showed them a document in which the brethren had promised to bury him at the entrance to their chapter-house at the feet of their founder.[3] It was probably a letter of fraternity dated before the translation from the tomb in the cloister to the church. The barons protested that it was beneath the dignity of his kingdom, but he insisted. He recovered and went off on a pilgrimage to Rocamadour in September.[4] On 29th December Archbishop Thomas Becket was murdered in the cathedral church of Canterbury. As soon as the news arrived at Grandmont the prior and brethren stopped the building of the church, sent away Henry II's workmen, and Prior William of Treignac wrote to tell him 'that they could not be partakers of his evil deeds'.[5] 'The gold of your crown is tarnished, and the roses which adorn it have fallen,' wrote the late prior, Peter Bernard de Boschiac.[6] The king did public penance at Canterbury at Becket's tomb in 1174, and the work on the church at Grandmont was resumed with his help. Jean Levesque recorded that on one occasion Henry II sent from La Rochelle to Grandmont 800 carts laden with lead, and each cart was drawn by eight English horses, all of the same colour.[7] The statement sounds fantastic, but the first part is confirmed by two entries in the Great Roll of the Pipe for 1175–6; Henry II paid 40*l.* for lead from the mines near Carlisle for the work of the house of Grandmont, and 12*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* for hiring two ships to carry the lead which he had given to the church of Grandmont from Newcastle to La

[1] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. cciv, pp. 1164, 1165.
[2] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, p. 317.
[3] *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. i, p. 7 (Rolls Series).
[4] E. Rupin, *Rocamadour: Étude Historique et Archéologique*, p. 195.
[5] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. cciv, pp. 1168, 1169; *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. Robertson, vol. vii, pp. 448, 449.
[6] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. cciv, p. 1169.
[7] Levesque, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

Rochelle.[1] According to the value of money in 1914, the cost of the lead was 960*l.* and the freight was 180*l.* The carriage from La Rochelle to Grandmont would be charged on the exchequer of Anjou, from which, in the absence of other evidence, it may be assumed that the king's other contributions to the building of Grandmont were paid. He was at Grandmont in November 1177 to meet the count of La Marche, who sold the county to him for 15,000*l.* of Angevin money, twenty mules, and twenty palfreys.[2] He was there again with his son Geoffrey on 24th June 1182, when they ate in the refectory with the brethren who had assembled from all the cells for the general chapter,[3] and in that year Henry made his will, in which he left 2,000*l.* to Grandmont.[4] In 1183 his eldest son, the young Henry, rebelled against him, came to Grandmont, and plundered the treasure of the monastery, not even sparing the golden dove which Henry II had given as the pyx.[5] The young Henry died a few weeks later at Martel in Quercy (department of the Lot), in the stone house of a merchant which still exists. The internal organs were buried at Grandmont after Henry II had promised the bishop of Limoges to restore all that his son had taken away from the treasure, and the body was then removed to Rouen for burial in the choir of the cathedral church.

As soon as Gerard Itier became prior, in 1188, he took steps to procure the canonization of the founder; two brethren, a priest and a lay brother, were sent to Rome with letters from the prior, the general chapter, Henry II, and several bishops.[6] In 1189 Pope Clement III granted the request, and sent a legate to be present at the ceremony on 30th August,[7] not two months after the death of Henry II, who was buried at Fontevraud instead of at Grandmont. The body of St. Stephen was carried in procession round the cloister and placed in a magnificent shrine above the high altar. After the suppression of the Order of Grandmont in 1769, the monastery was granted to the bishop of Limoges, and subsequently he distributed the treasure among the churches of the diocese.[8] The shrine of St. Stephen was given to the parish church of Razès, and handed over to the Government Commissaries for destruction in 1792.[9] It was 3 ft. 3 in. long, 1 ft. wide, and 2 ft. 9 in. high. Pardoux de la Garde, a brother of

[1] Pipe Roll Society, vol. xxv, pp. 137, 141.

[2] *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. i, p. 196; *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. ii, pp. 147, 148.

[3] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, p. 330.

[4] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, &c., vol. viii, p. 192 (Rolls Series).

[5] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, p. 336.

[6] Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. cciv, pp. 1048, 1049.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 1049, 1426.

[8] Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont*, pp. 458–67.

[9] Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, p. 384.

Fig. 1. St. Stephen of Muret and St. Nicholas: from a panel formerly on St. Stephen's shrine. Musée de Cluny

Fig. 2. The Adoration of the Kings: from a panel probably on St. Stephen's shrine. Musée de Cluny

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Fig. 1. Prior William of Dongres: from a panel on a shrine once at Grandmont

From Rupin, 'L'Œuvre de Limoges', *by kind permission of Mme. Rupin*

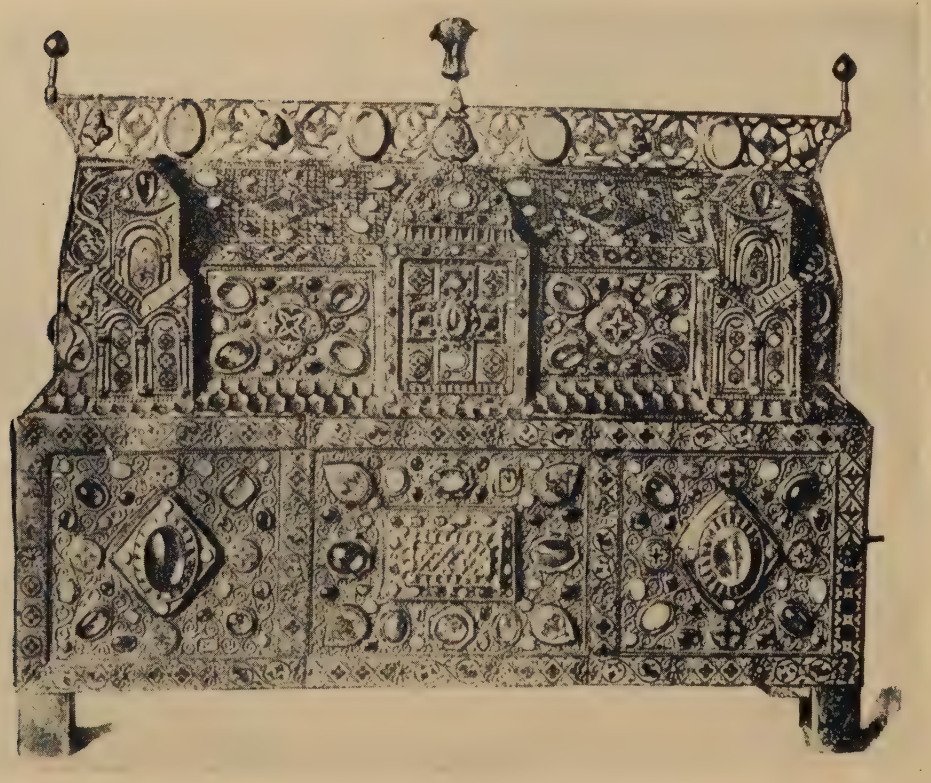


Fig. 2. Shrine once at Grandmont, now at Ambazac

From Rupin, 'L'Œuvre de Limoges', *by kind permission of Mme. Rupin*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

Grandmont, who died in 1591, wrote that this shrine of St. Stephen was copper-gilt, enamelled and ornamented with crystals and other stones, 'où est par personnages le pourtraict en bosse de la vie du dict sainct entièrement'.[1] One panel from this shrine is now in Paris, at the Musée de Cluny (pl. XXIX, fig. 1). It represents St. Nicholas speaking to St. Stephen. St. Nicholas wears a dark blue chasuble over a grey-blue vestment, his stole is turquoise blue with red embroidery, and he holds a red book with gold clasps. Both saints have yellow hair and beards. St. Stephen wears a tunic of the same grey-blue as that of St. Nicholas under a cloak and hood of a brighter blue; it is commonly assumed to represent the design, but not the colour, of the dress of a Grandmontine brother in the second half of the twelfth century. St. Stephen has a Tau cross, but no nimbus, and it is uncertain if it was omitted by the enameller, or if the shrine was finished before the canonization of the saint. The words are NICOLAZ ERT : PARLA[N] AM EN ETEVE DE MURET,[2] Nicholas était parlant au seigneur Etienne de Muret. A second panel of precisely the same measurements and workmanship is also in the Musée de Cluny (pl. XXIX, fig. 2). It represents the Adoration of the Kings, the first in green with a blue cloak, the second in grey-blue with a darker blue cloak, the third in blue with a green cloak, reversing the colours of the first. Their crowns are yellow and they carry red pots with blue bands. The Virgin is in grey-blue and the Child is gold. This panel was either on the shrine of St. Stephen or on the front of the high altar, on which the enamels represented stories from the Bible and figures of Apostles and Saints.[3] This altar probably resembled the altars now in the Museum at Burgos and in Orense cathedral in Spain.[4]

Of the six other shrines which were ranged on either side of that of St. Stephen only one has survived (pl. XXX, fig. 2), and it is in the parish church of Ambazac, about twelve miles from Limoges on the road to Grandmont. Apart from its remarkable beauty, it is of interest from the tradition, based on a statement in an inventory of 1435, that in form it represented the church of Grandmont.[5]

A panel from another shrine of Grandmont was exhibited at Tulle in 1887. With the exception of seals, it is the only known representation of a prior of Grandmont.[6] He wears an alb, a dalmatic, and maniple; in one hand he holds a book, and he gives a blessing with the other. The figure is copper-gilt in half-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 384.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 97, note 1. In the patois of the country EN for *dominus* (cf. Ducange), TEVE for *Etienne*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 96; E. Bertaux, *L'Exposition Rétrospective de Saragosse*, pp. 329–30.

[4] Rupin, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII; Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pl. CVIII.

[5] Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–44, figs. 207, 208, 210, 213, 216, 217.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134.

relief on a blue ground. The inscription is 'Guilelmus prior Grandimontis', and, from the character of the work, Monsieur Rupin believed him to be Prior William of Dongres (1245-8), rather than Prior William of Treignac (1170-89) (pl. xxx, fig. 1).

Other famous relics attracted pilgrims to Grandmont, and they came in great numbers; the solitude of the monastery was only a few miles from the road, passing through St. Léonard to Périgueux, by which pilgrims from eastern France travelled to the shrine of St. James at Compostella.[1] In spite of the founder's precept that the brethren must not go on pilgrimages, two of them, Guy de Blond and Imbert, went to the Holy Land and brought back certain relics as gifts from the Patriarch of Jerusalem and others to Grandmont and other churches in the Limousin.[2] In a letter to the provost and canons of St. Junien, written probably between 1128 and 1144, Guy de Blond vouched for their authenticity, and told the strange tale that on the way home seals attesting the relics were stolen by robbers in the night. French crusaders published the fame of Grandmont. In 1174 Bernard, bishop of Lydda, arrived at Grandmont with a reliquary containing a portion of the true cross, a gift to the brethren from Amaury I, king of Jerusalem, and uncle of Henry II. The reliquary, in the form of a double cross, was Byzantine, and was said to have been given to Amaury at Constantinople; it had a Greek inscription, and the brethren of Grandmont added a Latin inscription to commemorate the gift to them.[3] It disappeared in the French revolution. In the parish church of Billanges, near Grandmont, there is a figure of St. Stephen vested as a deacon, holding on a cushion, for veneration, a double cross representing the reliquary given by King Amaury.[4] It was made in the middle of the thirteenth century, as a figure for a shrine, or possibly to be affixed to an altar, and now stands on the base of a cross of an earlier date.

In 1181 the abbot of Siegburg, near Cologne, came with a canon of Bonn to Grandmont, on the way home from a pilgrimage to Rocamadour.[5] He was received into fraternity, and the prior asked him if he could help the brethren to get a body of one of the Virgins who had been martyred at Cologne. Workmen who were digging new foundations for the walls of Cologne in 1106 came on a large number of bones which excited the greatest interest; they were ascribed to St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins martyred by the

[1] Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, vol. iii, p. 93.

[2] C. Kohler, *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient Latin et des Croisades*, vol. i, pp. 242-9.

[3] *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois*, Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii, p. 320; E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, pp. 46, 47.

[4] E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, pp. 306, 476, 477.

[5] *Itinerarium Fratrum Grandimontensium*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cciv, pp. 1225-34.

Huns, and in the course of the twelfth century hundreds of bodies were removed and translated as relics.[1] The abbot of Siegburg promised that if the brethren of Grandmont would come to Cologne, he would persuade the archbishop to give them a body, or they should have one from his own monastery. The abbot returned home. Two priests and two lay brothers of Grandmont set out for Cologne, and arrived on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, March 28, after a journey in snow, hail, and heavy rain, through strange lands where men spoke an unknown tongue. They lodged in the abbot's town house, and the next morning they were ferried across the Rhine and entered the abbey church of Siegburg during the Sunday procession. The abbot left the choir to welcome them, and took them into a small chapel apart, where they heard mass; then they went to the guest house, where they marvelled at the comfort and the abundance of the food. On the morrow they rose for mattins with the monks, and after mass they entered the chapter-house and were received into fraternity. The abbot gave them the body of St. Albina, and of another virgin, and invited them to stay all the week. But they departed for Bonn with their guide, the canon of Bonn, Guoderan, and lodged with him, and on the morrow they prayed in the church of the canons and also of a nunnery outside the city, and then returned to Cologne to see the archbishop. He was in a chamber in his palace, surrounded by clerks and barons, and he greeted the brethren warmly when Guoderan introduced them. They presented letters to him, and he sent them to the abbey of St. Martin near by, and after visiting the various monasteries and churches of the city, St. Maria in gradibus, St. Gereon, and the church of the Apostles, and St. Pantaleon, and receiving gifts of relics wherever they went, they started home on Tuesday in Easter week with the bodies of seven of St. Ursula's virgins, besides relics of martyrs of the Theban legion. The bishop of Limoges came out from Grandmont with the prior and brethren in solemn procession with cross, incense, and candles to honour the relics, which were carried into the church and subsequently put into magnificent shrines on the high altar.

The Order of Grandmont

Of the hundred and forty houses founded in France in the twelfth century, two-thirds were situated in Henry II's dominions, twenty-two being in the diocese of Limoges, nineteen in the diocese of Poitiers.[2] The kings of France

[1] Mary Tout, 'The Legend of St. Ursula', *Owens College Historical Essays*, ed. T. F. Tout and J. Tait, pp. 30, 31.

[2] *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, ed. Beaunier et Besse, Introduction, pp. 185, 186. For a map of the houses in France, cf. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, vol. xxv, inserted after p. 32.

were also attracted by the brethren of Grandmont; in 1164 Louis VII founded the cell of Bois-de-Vincennes, one of the most important houses of the Order, and Philip Augustus took one of the brethren for his counsellor.[1] Walter Mapes heard of the brethren of Grandmont when he was with Henry II's court at Limoges in 1173: 'our king is so profusely munificent to them', he wrote, 'that they lack nothing. They give alms to every one but admit no one inside except a bishop or a prince. I am rather afraid of what may come, for now they are present at colloquies and handle the business of kings.'[2]

The first sixty years from the foundation of Grandmont was the golden age of the Order. Immediately afterwards its history is a long series of quarrels between the clerks and the lay brothers, and again between the brethren who were subjects of the kings of England and the subjects of the kings of France, who wished to make Bois-de-Vincennes the head house of the Order.[3] The quarrels between the clerks and the lay brothers were so notorious that the popes sent Cistercian abbots and Carthusian priors to settle the differences between them.[4] The bishops had no jurisdiction over the Grandmontine houses, for the whole Order was exempt by the bull of Pope Clement III in 1189.[5] Jacques de Vitry (*obiit* 1240) stated the case for both parties in the dispute.[6] The clerks thought that they ought to be over the lay brothers in all things, as in other Orders in which the capitals were put on top of the pillars and not the bases. The lay brothers insisted that the services in church should be arranged to suit their occupations; the clerks ought to be content to rest and read in the cloister, while they went out and bore the burden and heat of the day; they read nowhere that Mary complained of Martha. The wandering poet, Guiot de Provins, who had been in the Holy Land for the third crusade, and returned to France old and poor, became a monk at Cluny, where he grumbled at his monotonous food and the rule of silence in the refectory.[7] In his satire on the monastic Orders, which he finished about 1206, he praised the services in the church of Grandmont, and the charity of the brethren who gave food to all comers. They ate garlic and soup and hot pepper sauce in their

[1] Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*, pp. 134, 135.

[2] *Gualteri Mapes De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Thomas Wright, Distinct. I, cap. xxvi, p. 59 (Camden Society).

[3] Levesque, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 239; Martène, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, vol. i, coll. 630.

[4] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, vol. iv, pp. 955–63 (ed. 1738).

[5] *Ibid.* An Inspeximus by David, bishop of St. David's, dated Oct. 29, 1300, of an undated Inspeximus by Anselm, bishop of St. David's (1231–47), of this bull of Clement III is in the Muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge, God's House Drawer, A; cf. *Register of Archbishop Corbridge*, vol. i, pp. 125–6 (Surtees Society).

[6] J. de Vitry, *Histoire Occidentale*, cap. xix; Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*, pp. 150–3.

[7] *Les Œuvres de Guiot de Provins*, ed. John Orr (Manchester University Publications, 1915), pp. xi–xvi.

refectory, but the clerks complained that they dared not begin any service in church until the lay brothers gave the order, and if they did the lay brothers beat them well. 'The lay brothers are lords and masters there. I should be frightened if they were my lords. I am frightened when I see them. Rome allows this, and why? Because the lay brothers had gold and silver; when they put the clerks in chains, they gave so much that clerk and priest are subject to them. . . . There the carts go before the oxen.'[1] Great changes were made early in the thirteenth century. Pope Innocent III gave the priors authority both in spiritual and temporal affairs, and control over expenditure, with the right to appoint the lay brothers, who would be responsible to them for the management of temporal affairs.[2] In 1217 Pope Honorius III decreed that the head of each cell, called the corrector, must always be a clerk, and the chief lay brother or curiosus must render a monthly account to him.[3] The lay brothers resented their new subjection, and in 1223 they complained that, contrary to the Rule, the Order now held possessions beyond the sites of their houses, and received charters giving them legal security.[4] After an inquiry held by order of Pope Honorius III, he dispensed the Order from the observance of those chapters of the Rule which forbade them to hold lands outside their houses, to breed animals, to go to markets and fairs, and to defend themselves in courts of law.[5]

The English Houses

Henry II was very generous to Grandmont, and granted the brethren two hundred Angevin pounds a year, and founded cells in his French dominions, among them a priory in a wood on the Seine opposite Rouen,[6] but he gave them nothing in England. In a charter relating to the foundation of the cell of Sarmaize by Richard I, which was forged at Grandmont in the middle of the thirteenth century, it is expressly stated that the prior and brethren refused to cross the sea.[7]

The first English house was founded about 1204. Joan Fossard, heiress of the Yorkshire lands of William Fossard at Egton, Mulgrave, and Doncaster, gave the prior and brethren of Grandmont a site eight miles from Whitby, in the forest of Egton on the river Esk, two hundred acres of woods, the right to take timber for building in the whole forest, a mill at Egton, pasturage for forty

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-9.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. ccxvi, pp. 504–6.
[3] Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont*, p. 141.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–70.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[6] *Rotuli Chartarum*, vol. i, p. 21b (Record Commission).
[7] L. Delisle, 'Examen de treize chartes de l'Ordre de Grandmont', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. xx, pp. 202, 203.

cows and their calves, fifty sheep, ten horses, ten sows, and two boars; a house in York, land at Goldsborough, and the services of one man at Egton, another at Goldsborough, and another at Doncaster.[1] Joan Fossard was the wife of Robert de Turnham, seneschal of Anjou in 1199, and seneschal of Poitou and Gascony from 1201 to 1204.[2] The charter, printed in the *Monasticon* from an eighteenth-century transcript at Limoges, is undated; from the names of two of the witnesses, the chaplain of the important commandery of the Templars at La Rochelle and Aimery de Rochefort, it may be conjectured that Joan Fossard gave the charter at La Rochelle, the port of Poitou, and the only stronghold left to King John in 1204, when Robert de Turnham had been taken prisoner at the castle of Loches in Touraine.[3] The preliminary steps had been taken in 1203; on 31st March, at Rouen, John issued a general notification to archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and others, that the brethren of Grandmont were free of every toll and service due to the crown; an original with a damaged great seal is now in the Archives of All Souls College, Oxford.[4] Before his death in 1211 Robert de Turnham confirmed his wife's charter, and added another hundred acres in the forest.[5] In 1213 King John gave a confirmation charter to this cell,[6] which was called alternatively Eskdale or Grosmont.

The second English house was founded by Walter de Lacy, a great lord in the marches of Wales and of Ireland. He was with King John in the expedition to Poitou in 1214; he landed at La Rochelle on 14th March, and received a commission to go to Narbonne and buy horses on 13th April.[7] John stayed at Grandmont on 1st and 2nd April,[8] and it is most probable that on the occasion of this war in France Walter de Lacy came in contact with the brethren of Grandmont. He was one of the executors of King John's will, a chief supporter of the young king, Henry III, and sheriff of Herefordshire from 1216 to 1223.[9] After a period of considerable disturbance along all the Welsh borderland, peace was restored in 1225, and probably about that date Walter de Lacy gave the prior and brethren of Grandmont a site at Craswall, in a valley of the hills near the Black Mountain, on the borders of Hereford-

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1025.

[2] A. Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, vol. ii, pp. 323, 333, 392, 403, 449.

[3] K. Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 103.

[4] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 112.

[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, pp. 1025 1026; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. ii, p. 532 (Rolls Series).

[6] *Monasticon*, vi, p. 1025.

[7] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxi, pp. 390–2; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. v, pp. 240, 256–71.

[8] 'Itinerarium Johannis regis Anglie', ed. T. D. Hardy, *Archaeologia*, vol. xxii, p. 153.

[9] K. Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 285; *Minority of Henry III*, p. 204.

shire and Brecon, a few miles to the west of his castle of Ewyas Lacy. A seal of Walter de Lacy was at Grandmont in the sixteenth century,[1] but there is no transcript at Limoges of the original charter. The charter of confirmation which Walter gave to the prior of the Order of Grandmont and the brethren dwelling at Craswall is in the Archives of Christ's College, Cambridge.[2] He confirmed to them in pure and perpetual alms the whole of their land between the river Monnow and the stream of Leth, six hundred acres measured by the long hundred, with woods, and pasturage for all their animals in the new forest and across the water by mountains, valleys, and woods as far as Talgarth, and common pasture for ten beasts and their horses with his own. He granted them the right to take all they needed in the aforesaid place and forest to build their house and mills, and also the right to make fish-ponds in the Leth and the Monnow. In the original charter he had granted a tenth of the rents of all his manors in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Wiltshire; in the confirmation charter he gave instead the ninth sheaf of corn and oats in all his manors in England and Wales; he gave also a tenth of the hides of all cattle slaughtered in his castle at Ewyas, the services of one man at Ewyas, another at Weobley, and another at Ludlow, and a tenth from the mills of his Irish lands in Meath. This endowment was to maintain ten priests and three clerks to reside perpetually at Craswall, and offer service to God in the church; in accordance with the custom of the Order, there would be at least an equal number of lay brethren. This site, over twelve hundred feet up, in a valley about a mile from the desolate Black Mountain, fulfilled the conditions of St. Stephen of Muret, but it was a wild and inhospitable spot, and soon after the coming of the Grandmontine brethren to Craswall, Walter de Lacy gave them two hundred and four acres in his manor of Holme Lacy in the valley of the Wye, some four miles south of Hereford.[3] In a third charter he gave them an endowment in Ireland, one burgage in each of his towns, one messuage in each of his manors and the ninth sheaf of all wheat, oats, barley, peas, and beans.[4] All the endowments of Craswall were included in the confirmation charter given by Henry III in 1231.[5]

Soon after the brethren of Grandmont settled at Craswall, a third house was founded at Alberbury on the river Severn, eight miles west of Shrewsbury on the Welsh borderland. The founder was Fulk FitzWarine III,[6] the hero of

[1] *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Limousin*, vol. xxv, p. 379.
[2] Muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge, God's House Drawer, C.
[3] A. T. Bannister, 'A Lost Cartulary of Hereford Cathedral', *Woolhope Club Transactions*, 1914–17, p. 276.
[4] Muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge, God's House Drawer, B.
[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1035.
[6] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. vii, pp. 71–80.

the Romance, written in French before 1310, which begins: 'In the time of April and May when once again the meadows and pastures become green, and all living things renew their virtue and their beauty and strength, and the hills and the valleys resound with the sweet warble of the birds, and by reason of the beauty and of the season, all hearts are uplifted and made glad, then is it meet that we should call to remembrance the adventures and the brave deeds of our ancestors who made endeavour to seek honour in loyalty.'[1] It is a tale of strange adventures by land and sea, in which both Fulk FitzWarine and his enemy Walter de Lacy were confused with their fathers.

According to the sober facts of history, Fulk FitzWarine had a castle at Alberbury, now a ruin, close to the parish church. Between 1221 and 1226 he built 'a house of religion', and gave it to Abbot Alan and the convent of Augustinian canons of Lilleshall, fifteen and a half miles east of Shrewsbury, on condition that they sent a prior and several canons to reside there.[2] After a few years Abbot Alan's successor, Abbot William, and the canons of Lilleshall decided that the house at Alberbury was not as profitable to them as they had hoped, in fact it was a heavy expense; accordingly they renounced any claim to the priory, gave back their charter to Fulk FitzWarine, and agreed that, with the advice of the bishop of Hereford, he could give the house at Alberbury to men of any religious Order.[3] It is easy to conjecture why Fulk decided to offer Alberbury to the brethren of Grandmont. The suggestion may have come from Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford, who had confirmed Walter de Lacy's grants to Craswall,[4] and also confirmed Fulk FitzWarine's gift to Alberbury.[5] Fulk's brother, William FitzWarine, held land in Walter de Lacy's manor of Holme Lacy, and he witnessed one of the Craswall charters as well as Fulk's charter of confirmation to Alberbury.[6] In 1226 Fulk and Walter de Lacy were negotiating for a marriage between Fulk's son and De Lacy's niece.[7]

In his charter of confirmation Fulk stated that he had founded and built a house of religion, in honour of God and of the Virgin Mary, for brethren of

[1] Cf. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in Dept. of MSS., British Museum*, pp. 501–8; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. xi, pp. 29–42; *History of Fulk FitzWarine*, translated by A. Kemp-Welch.

[2] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 118; Eyton, *op. cit.*, vol. viii, p. 225. William succeeded Alan in 1226.

[3] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, nos. 112, 118.

[4] *Woolhope Club Transactions*, 1914–17, p. 272.

[5] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 110.

[6] Muniments of Christ's College, God's House Drawer, B; Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 107.

[7] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxi, p. 391.

the Order of Grandmont, and he confirmed the site and its appurtenances, from the stream descending between his land at Alberbury and Eyton, forty square perches in his wood and twenty perches along the stream, besides twenty-four acres which he gave for the soul of his wife Matilda, when her body was buried in the church of the brethren.[1] He gave the brethren the right to make ponds and mills with use of his water, and also of his quarry, and of gravel and sand. He also endowed the monastery with the manor of Whadborough in Leicestershire, and he stipulated that Alberbury should be subject only to the head house of Grandmont. The charter was confirmed by Henry III in 1232.[2] In 1252 when Fulk was at his other castle of Whittington, near Oswestry, he gave a messuage in Whittington, and bequeathed his body for burial to the brethren of Grandmont at Alberbury.[3] He died before 1260, but the precise date is not known. According to the Romance, he was blind for the last seven years of his life, and endured his penance with patience. His second wife, Clare, died and was buried in the New Abbey; a year later Fulk died at Whittington and was buried near the altar of the New Abbey with great honour.[4]

In official documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Alberbury Priory is described as the priory of Nova Abbacia,[5] the Nouvelle Abbaye of the Romance. In a document in the register of Bishop Booth of Hereford, dated 1521, it is the priory of the New Abbey, otherwise called the Black Abbey;[6] in a document of the same year at All Souls College it is called the White Abbey or the Black Abbey.[7] Some years later, when Leland was travelling in Shropshire, he wrote: 'By Aberbyri Church appere the ruines of Fulke Guarene, the noble warrior's castel, and less than a mile of was Album Monasterium where he is buried.'[8] In leases of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries it is described as the New or Black Abbey.[9] At the present day it is commonly called the White Abbey, in accordance with the wrong derivation which was suggested by Leland in the sixteenth century.

There were no other houses of the Order in England. In 1217 the brethren of Grandmont received the manor of Bulwell in Nottinghamshire from

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 107; Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. vii, p. 76. Matilda was dead in 1226.

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1031.

[3] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 115.

[4] *History of Fulk FitzWarine*, translated by A. Kemp-Welch, pp. 117, 120.

[5] e.g. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1381–5, p. 40; *ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 352; *ibid.*, 1413–16, p. 165; *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1369–74, p. 547.

[6] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Charles Booth*, ed. A. T. Bannister (Canterbury and York Society), p. 97.

[7] *Catalogue of Archives of All Souls*, ed. Trice Martin, p. 16.

[8] Leland, *Itinerarium*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, vol. iv, p. 1; vol. v, p. 15.

[9] *Catalogue of Archives of All Souls*, ed. Trice Martin, pp. 16–18.

Henry III, and came there to build a house, but they left it in 1223.[1] The houses of Bonshommes at Ashridge in Buckinghamshire and Edingdon in Wiltshire did not belong to the Order of Grandmont; they are described particularly as brethren of the Order of St. Augustine.[2] The familiar name of Bonshommes was not given only to the brethren of Grandmont.[3]

The History of the English Houses and of their Relations with Grandmont

The history of the English houses is a struggle with poverty; they were administered for the benefit of Grandmont. The prior of Grandmont, as head of the Order, had the right to appoint the heads of the houses, who were called correctors within the Order, although in charters and other documents they are called custodes, sometimes priors. The correctors held office during the pleasure of the prior of Grandmont; they were bound to attend general chapters frequently, if not every year, and to bring with them the annual pension due to the mother house. The brethren were unable to sell or alienate any property without the consent of the prior of Grandmont; Brother Geoffrey was sent from Grandmont to recover everything which had been alienated, and in 1245 the brethren of Alberbury were compelled to revoke a lease granted for forty-one years and to pay back 32*l.* 10*s.* received for it.[4] In 1247 the seal of William, prior of Grandmont, was affixed to an agreement between the brethren of Alberbury and the prior and convent of Launde.[5] It became clear that it was impossible to govern the English houses from the centre of France. In 1252 Adémar, prior of Grandmont, notified all the brethren, both clerks and lay brothers, of Craswall, Alberbury, and Eskdale that he had appointed Brother Reginald as corrector of Craswall, and with the consent of the general chapter he had delegated his authority to Reginald in both spiritual and temporal matters, and had given him authority to institute correctors and curiosi, to remove clerks and lay brothers from one house to another, to receive novices, and to exercise plenary jurisdiction by punishing offenders, excommunicating rebels, or even expelling them from the Order.[6] For the next fifty years this office, which was in fact that of a vicar-general, appears to have been held by

[1] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1216–25, p. 123.

[2] e. g. both Ashridge and Edingdon, in the Edingdon Cartulary, MS. Lansdowne 442, ff. 18ᵛ, 19, in both royal charters and episcopal documents. Edingdon is once wrongly described as of the Order of Grandmont, *Cal. of Papal Registers*, v, p. 362; for Ashridge as of the Order of St. Augustine, cf. *Cal. of Papal Registers*, ii, p. 573.

[3] Heimbücher, *Die Orden und Congregationen*, vol. ii, pp. 46, 182.

[4] Archives of All Souls, Whadborough, no. 19.

[5] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 24.

[6] MS. Harl. 6203, f. 26, British Museum.

the corrector of Craswall, but when that house was nearly ruined, the supremacy passed to Alberbury.

In 1253 Reginald, corrector of Craswall, sold the manor of Holme Lacy to Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, for the sum of 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to buy lands and rents for the maintenance of brethren at Grandmont who would pray for the souls of Walter de Lacy and all the faithful departed.[1] The transaction was sanctioned by Pope Alexander IV in 1255.[2] The lands at Holme Lacy had involved the brethren of Craswall in difficulties almost from the beginning. In 1234 Henry III exempted them from distraints at Holme Lacy on account of Walter de Lacy's debts to the Jews;[3] his creditors harried the brethren again after his death in 1241; the royal instruction was repeated in 1242 and ordered to be enrolled.[4] By the sale of Holme Lacy in 1253 the major portion of the endowment of Craswall was diverted to Grandmont. Sixty years later the prior of Grandmont was informed that the patron of Craswall had expelled the corrector and all the brethren but one, and had said that they should not return, or any others of the Order, unless they were brethren of discretion and wisdom who could lift up the house of Craswall, which was nearly ruined by the others.[5] In 1291 their possessions were assessed for taxation at 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the manor of Holme Lacy, which had passed to the dean and chapter of Hereford, was assessed at over 6*l.*[6] The possessions of Eskdale were then assessed at 8*l.*[7] In 1294 Peter de Mauley confirmed the mill at Egton to the brethren of the English nation, and added that in future he would not allow visitors from Grandmont or any brother from across the seas to have any claim on the mill, or to ruin any of the temporal possessions in his fee, as they had done in the time of his ancestors.[8]

Alberbury was more slenderly endowed than Eskdale and Craswall, but the brethren inspired much affection in their neighbours. In the archives of All Souls College there are over a hundred documents relating to gifts of land in Alberbury, Wylaston, Peckenhall, Eyton, Bausley, Swottington, Loton, Woodmore, and Shrewsbury; some were very small, an acre or less. Roger Eyton gave them an acre in Eyton to provide ropes for the great bell.[9] The founder had not endowed the brethren with a man and his heirs to render

[1] *Ibid.*, f. 26[v], cf. *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe*, ed. Capes, pp. 128, 129 (Canterbury and York Society).

[2] *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. Capes, pp. 106, 107 (Cantilupe Society).

[3] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1231–4, p. 367.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1237–42, p. 505.

[5] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 120.

[6] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, pp. 170, 172, 274b (Record Commission).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 305b.

[8] J. C. Atkinson, *History of Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, vol. i, p. 202 note.

[9] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 44.

service to them, and in 1267 Roger Eyton entered into a contract with the brethren to do all their business, except that he would not cross the seas.[1] They undertook to provide him with a room in which he could put his bed and keep his personal possessions, and he gave them 1*l.* to build it; he could stay there when he pleased, and have his food and forage for his horse, and if he was at Eyton, he would receive a loaf of the better bread and a gallon of beer every day. He would provide his own clothes and shoes, but if his horse died when on the service of the brethren, they would give him another. When he died, all his possessions would fall to the fabric fund of the church, and the brethren would bury him in their cemetery as if he were one of themselves.

The brethren of Alberbury secured the most valuable part of their endowment in 1259, when Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, appropriated the parish church of Alberbury to them, though with the intention of benefiting the mother house of Grandmont. He said that he had considered the poverty of Grandmont, the multitude of its good works daily in providing for the poor who abounded in the land of France, its admirable hospitality to guests and travellers, and the continuous service of God in the church. On condition that Grandmont and Alberbury kept the anniversary of his death, the bishop gave half the fruits to each house.[2] For the next thirty years Grandmont received nothing from the fruits of Alberbury; the tithes could not be collected as the parish was on the borders of Wales and the claim to jurisdiction over the district of Gordwyr on the right bank of the Severn was in dispute between the bishops of Hereford and St. Asaph.[3] Welsh rectors and their parishioners raided cattle and robbed barns, and even snatched bodies from Alberbury churchyard.[4] In 1287 two visitors were sent from Grandmont to England, Adémar, corrector of La Bellière, and Guy Crespi, and they summoned Roger of Craswall, as prior of the Order in England, to meet them at Alberbury, and to assess the amount to be paid to Grandmont from the fruits of the parish church.[5] Roger was detained in London on business relating to Craswall, but he ratified the agreement which was made in the chapter-house at Alberbury on 22nd October, by which the brethren pledged themselves to pay 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year to Grandmont.[6]

A year later the boundary dispute between the dioceses was settled. A commission consisting of a canon of St. Asaph, a canon of Hereford, four inhabi-

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 116; Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.

[3] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe*, ed. Capes, p. xxxi (Canterbury and York Society).

[4] *Ibid.*, *Cantilupe*, pp. 132, 288; *Richard Swinfield*, ed. Capes, p. 202 (Canterbury and York Society).

[5] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.

[6] *Ibid.*, liasse 1672.

tants of the district in dispute, and five from its neighbourhood rode on 22nd November from Thornbury near Montgomery to Alberbury priory, and on the morrow they rode back to Chirbury priory.[1] On 24th November they swore an oath that the river Severn, from the ford called Rydwymma near Montgomery to the ford at Shrawardyn, was the ancient boundary of the diocese, and all of them put their seals on the document. It was taken at once to Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, and on the next day he entered the ford of Rydwymma to the middle of the river, and then rode from sixteen to twenty miles to the ford of Shrawardyn, preaching and giving absolution, granting indulgences, and confirming a great number of children.[2] On 27th November he heard mass in the priory church of Alberbury.[3] On 4th May 1289 he dedicated the parish church, and received hospitality at the priory for himself and his household, and forage for thirty-six horses,[4] a heavy expense for the brethren, but there is no other record in the episcopal registers of Hereford of the presence of a bishop at Alberbury until ninety-eight years afterwards. Without the fruits of the parish church, assessed for taxation in 1291 at 25*l.*, the brethren of Alberbury would have been poorer than those of Craswall; for their small rents, six cows, and sixty sheep were assessed at 3*l.* 16*s.*[5]

At the general chapter of the Order at Grandmont in 1295 the number of the brethren in the different cells was reduced; Eskdale and Craswall were limited to nine brethren, Alberbury to six.[6]

In 1315 there were rival priors of Grandmont, Jordan of Rapistan, who was deposed but remained in possession of Grandmont, and Elias, who had been elected by some of the brethren in the chapter-house of the Franciscan friars of Limoges.[7] On 7th March 1315 Prior Elias wrote to Arnold Rissa, corrector of Alberbury, giving him a commission to receive the obedience of his brethren and of the other correctors or curiosi in England, either going in person to the other houses, or sending a trustworthy brother in his place.[8] He had heard that Prior Jordan had ordered Arnold Rissa to sell a manor and come to Grandmont in person with the money. 'We forbid you to sell or alienate anything without our special permission', Elias continued; 'act as cautiously and faithfully in the business of your house as we hear you have in the past, and now that you are an old man, refrain from acting as you would not have done in your youth .... We will not speak about your coming to see us, but if you can, we shall receive you with pleasure, if the house of Alberbury would not suffer by your absence.'

[1] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Swinfield*, ed. Capes, pp. 204–7 (Canterbury and York Society).
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 208.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[4] *Household Book of Bishop Swinfield*, ed. J. Webb, vol. i, p. 81 (Camden Society).
[5] *Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, pp. 163, 167 (Record Commission).
[6] *Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin*, xxiii, p. 67.
[7] Levesque, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
[8] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 120.

Owing to the quarrels between the rival priors of Grandmont and the serious financial straits of the mother house and many of the cells, Pope John XXII reconstituted the Order in 1317.[1] The priory of Grandmont was raised to the status of an abbey, to be served by sixty priests; thirty-nine of the larger cells were called conventual priories, and 113 other cells were united to them. The total number of the brethren was reduced from 886 in 1295 to 712.[2] The prior of Grandmont had been elected by the correctors and curiosi from each cell; the abbot was elected solely by the brethren of the mother house, and the election was confirmed by the four visitors of Grandmont. Among the fifteen cells united to Grandmont were the only houses outside France, the three in England and the two in northern Spain, Estella and San Marcial de Tudela. There was no change in the relations between Grandmont and the English houses; the correctors were called priors and appointed and removed by the abbot of Grandmont, and they took the oath of fealty to him in these words: 'I brother N. promise to you, my lord N., abbot of Grandmont, that henceforth I will be obedient and faithful, and that I will come to the general chapter of your Order. I will pay the annual pensions due to you and your monastery, and I will do other things which you may command me, and I will not sell, give or alienate in any way any of the possessions of my priory without the knowledge of the abbot of Grandmont.'[3]

William, first abbot of Grandmont (1317–36), attempted to settle the strife between Alberbury and Craswall. Arnold Rissa, prior of Alberbury, had been appointed prior of the Order in England in 1315. Abbot William excommunicated him, and the sentence was notified throughout the diocese of Hereford, but subsequently he made his peace with the abbot and received absolution, 'tacita veritate et expressa falsitate', according to the complaint of Peter Grimoaldi, prior of Craswall and of the Order in England. In an undated letter[4] to Abbot William, Peter declared that Arnold Rissa was responsible for the seizure of goods collected by Peter to pay the abbot, and he himself had suffered from toil and hunger, from potions and witchcraft, from arrest and bloodshed, and Arnold rejoiced over his tribulations. He concluded in these words: 'Unless you ordain that all the houses and brethren in England shall be under the obedience of one faithful brother, you will enjoy nothing from them.' In 1319 Edward II gave protection for one year to Brother Ralph Grymordi, proctor of Grandmont, going through the realm on the business of that house.[5]

[1] Levesque, *op. cit.*, pp. 255–75.
[2] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus* (ed. 1738), vol. iv, p. 908.
[3] Levesque, *op. cit.*, pp. 329, 330.
[4] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[5] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1317–21, p. 390.

The Hundred Years War

At the beginning of the Hundred Years War with France in 1337 orders were issued for the seizure of alien priories, and as on this occasion the bishops were required to make a return of all alien houses in their dioceses, the Grandmontine priories did not escape notice,[1] as in the wars of Edward I and Edward II. There was no money to pay a yearly rent to the Exchequer and maintain the brethren. Not three months after Craswall was seized, in 1341, the escheator received an order from the Crown to provide reasonable maintenance for the prior and brethren, which he had neglected to do.[2] In 1342 Edward III gave the custody of Craswall, for so long as the war continued, to the patron, Bartholomew de Burghersh, without rendering anything to the Exchequer, on condition that he provided reasonable maintenance for the prior and brethren.[3] After an inquisition at Egton in 1344, the escheator for Yorkshire reported that all the brethren of Eskdale were English, but the prior was bound to pay a yearly pension of thirty shillings to the abbot of Grandmont. The cell was assessed for taxation at 8*l.*, but it was worth 20*l.*; there were twenty-four oxen, four cows and their calves, a horse and two mares, 100 sheep and forty lambs, twenty quarters of wheat, and 100 quarters of oats.[4] There were nine brethren and four servants besides labourers to plough and look after the beasts. Five men had corrodies of the value of thirty shillings a year. The brethren gave hospitality to all passers by, but the lands and livestock did not provide for reasonable sustenance for the brethren and their servants and for other expenses without the alms of the good men of the country. Eskdale was therefore released from custody. In 1344 a similar inquisition was held at Alberbury, when it was stated, though incorrectly, that the prior was dative at the will of Fulk FitzWarine, lord of Whittington; the lands and rents were only worth forty-one shillings and twopence a year, the value of the livestock was 9*l.* 6*s.*, and the great tithes of the parish were worth 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and this did not suffice for the prior, six brethren, and their servants. The chancery rolls had been searched, and as it was found that the house had not been seized before, it was released on account of its extreme poverty.[5]

Although no pensions were paid to Grandmont, and no visitors were sent to England on account of the war,[6] the abbots of Grandmont continued to nominate

[1] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–6, p. 291; cf. *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, John de Trillek*, ed. Parry, p. 288 (Canterbury and York Society).

[2] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–6, p. 292.

[3] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1343–5, p. 437.

[4] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–6, p. 76; *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Chancery*, vol. ii, pp. 467, 468.

[5] *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1343–6, p. 408.

[6] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 122.

the priors of Alberbury. Prior Richard of Stretton killed a woman called Alice of Chirbury at the priory by a mischance, and absented himself for many years until he was pardoned by the king and absolved by the pope.[1] John of Cublington, a brother of Eskdale, left his house without leave and with a sum of money, and induced the abbot of Grandmont to nominate him prior of Alberbury and also of Craswall. In 1357 Edward III appointed a commission to inquire into his conduct at Alberbury.[2] He had alienated manors without the consent of the brethren, carried away relics and vestments, killed a woman called Alice Peckenhall, and atrociously wounded one of the brethren, for which reason the bishop of Hereford had laid an interdict on the priory church; and he had put in eight men of powerful build to collect the goods and profits of the priory. In 1359 two brethren of Alberbury wrote a letter to the abbot of Grandmont, giving a detailed account of the evil deeds of John of Cublington, who had withdrawn to Craswall, and begging him to intervene.[3] It was witnessed by a notary, and a chaplain carried it to Grandmont. On 16th September 1359 Adémar Crespi, abbot of Grandmont, addressed a long letter to the brethren of the three English houses; he deposed John of Cublington and appointed Brother Robert of Newton as prior of Alberbury, with power to appoint priors to Eskdale and Craswall; and he instructed him to visit the three houses once a year, either personally or by a faithful priest, and to get a faithful account of receipts and expenses, and to see that there was a common seal in each priory in the custody of two brethren.[4] Five years later Robert of Newton was dead, and Abbot Adémar intervened in the struggle between two rival priors of Alberbury; he asked the officials of the archdeacons of Coventry, Stafford, and Shrewsbury to hold an inquiry and restore the rightful claimant, who should attend the general chapter of Grandmont once in two years and be prompt in paying the annual pension in full.[5] Grandmont was in serious financial straits. In August 1370 it was occupied by French soldiers, and six weeks later the brethren fled to escape the vengeance of the Black Prince, who had recaptured Limoges.[6] Before 1380 the monastery was occupied for some time by one of the armed bands who were devastating France.

When war with France was renewed, in the reign of Richard II, the three English priories were seized and not released. According to Jean Levesque who compiled the Annals of Grandmont from the records of the monastery,

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 123; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1361–4, p. 347.
[2] Rot. Pat. 31 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 24d.
[3] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[4] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 122.
[5] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 123.
[6] Denifle, *La Désolation des églises et monastères en France*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 657.

Abbot Pierre de Redondeau (1388?–1437) visited England as an ambassador for the king of France.[1] It is certain that he lost hope of recovering anything from the English houses, and, like some other French abbots, he was willing to sell them if possible. In 1394 he renounced his rights to the advowson of Eskdale and all its property, and any claim to any pension therefrom, in favour of John Hewett alias Sergeant and his heirs for ever.[2] The transaction was recognized by Richard II on condition that during the war thirty shillings a year should be paid to the Exchequer, and all connexion between Eskdale and Grandmont was severed. Eskdale had suffered from special misfortunes. In 1360, on the ground that a fire had destroyed the church, bell-tower, cloister, refectory, dormitory, and nearly the whole priory, together with the bells, vestments, and church vessels, and help was needed to rebuild and replace them, Pope Innocent VI granted an indulgence of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who gave alms and visited the church on the five feasts of our Lord, the five feasts of the Virgin Mary, those of Pentecost, of St. Bartholomew, and of the dedication.[3] In 1387 Pope Urban VI sent a commission to the abbot of Whitby to recover property which had been unlawfully alienated from Eskdale.[4] The house continued its obscure existence until the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536, when there were five brethren.[5]

Craswall and Alberbury remained in the king's hands as alien priories, and bare necessities were supplied to the brethren. The payment of any apports to French mother houses ceased after 1414,[6] and the greater part of the revenues of the two houses was paid to Joan, queen consort of Henry IV, until her death, and subsequently to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.[7]

The question of the alien priories was finally settled in the reign of Henry VI. In a letter to the convocation of Canterbury in 1438 the king lamented the decay of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 'the two luminaries from which the chief part of the fame and glory of the crown and kingdom are derived', and desired help for them out of the patrimony of the Church.[8] In 1441 Alberbury priory was given to Archbishop Chichele's new foundation, All Souls College, Oxford,[9] and Craswall priory to God's House, Cambridge,[10] afterwards

[1] Levesque, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
[2] Rot. Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11.
[3] *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, vol. i, p. 352.
[4] Harl. Charter 43 A. 47, British Museum.
[5] *V. C. H. Yorkshire*, iii, p. 194.
[6] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv, 22; Rymer, *Foedera*, ix, pp. 280, 281.
[7] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1413–16, p. 165; *Ibid.*, 1436–41, p. 189.
[8] *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. G. Williams, vol. i, pp. 55, 56 (Rolls Series).
[9] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1436–41, p. 563.
[10] Muniments of Christ's College, God's House Drawer, H: confirmed by Edward IV; cf. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1461–7, p. 217.

united to Christ's College. There is a sense of fitness in this new endowment. The link with Grandmont was forged by Henry II, 'with whom', wrote Peter of Blois, 'there is school every day, constant conversation of the best scholars and discussion of questions'.[1] Alberbury and Craswall still serve to promote the cause of religion and sound learning.

It is a pleasure to record my thanks to Sir Charles Oman, F.S.A., for the privilege of working in the library at All Souls, where I had access to the large collection of Alberbury documents; and to the Sub-Librarian, Mr. Whitaker; to the Warden of All Souls for permission to have casts made of the seals and a photograph of the plan of Alberbury in 1579; to Mr. Sidney Campbell, Bursar of Christ's College, for access to the small collection of Craswall documents and permission to work in the library; to Monsieur Petit, archiviste de la Haute Vienne at Limoges, for the transcripts of several documents; to Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, F.S.A., Mr. R. C. Fowler, F.S.A., and to Mr. H. S. Kingsford for helpful suggestions. Lastly I wish to pay tribute to the learning of the present Benedictines of Ligugé, who compile and publish *Les Archives de la France Monastique*, to which I am indebted for many references to French sources for the history of Grandmont.

[1] Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, p. 137.

APPENDIX I

A LIST OF PRIORS AND ABBOTS OF GRANDMONT TO 1470, OF PRIORS OF THE ORDER IN ENGLAND, AND OF THE PRIORS OF THE THREE ENGLISH HOUSES

The Order of Grandmont

Priors[1]

St. Stephen	*ob.* 1124	William de Dongres	1245–8
Peter of Limoges	1124–37	Itier Merle	1248, occurs 1260
Peter of St. Christophe	1137–9	Guy Archer	resigned 1269
Stephen Lissac	1139–53	Foucher Grimouard	1269–81
Peter Bernard	1153–70	Peter de Causac	1281 or 2–1290–1
William of Treignac	1170–89	(deposed in favour of Bernard of Rissa and afterwards restored)	
Gerald Itier	1189–98		
Adémar of Friac	1199–1216	Bernard de Gandelmar	1291
Caturcin	1216–29	Guy Foucher	1291–1306
Elias Arnaud	1229–39	William de Prémaurel	1306–12
John de l'Aigle	1239–42	Jourdain de Rapistang	1312–16
Adémar de la Vergne[2]	1242–5	Elias Adémar	1316

By a bull of 1317 Grandmont was created an abbey by Pope John XXII.

Abbots

William Pellicier	1317–36	Aimeric Fabri	1378–85
Peter Aubert	1336–47	Ranulf Itier	1385–88
John Chabrit	1347–55	Peter Redondeau	1388–1437
Adémar Crespi	1355–78	William Fumel	1437–70

Priors of the Order of Grandmont in England

Reginald,[3] appointed 1252, occurs 1253.
Peter,[4] occurs 1255.
Hugh,[5] occurs 1259.
Roger of Craswall,[6] occurs 1287 and 1294.
Arnold Rissa,[7] occurs 1315.
Peter Grimoald,[8] occurs *circa* 1317.
Robert Newton,[9] appointed 1359.

[1] The list of priors and abbots is taken from Lecler, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont*, pp. 4–6, which is based on Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*.

[2] Adémar de la Vergne appears to have been prior again in 1252 and 1255, cf. MS. Harl. 6203, f. 26; Bosredon, *Sigillographie de la Haute Vienne*, p. 220, for his seal attached to a document of 1255.

[3] MS. Harl. 6203, ff. 26, 26v, British Museum.

[4] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Whadborough, no. 26.

[5] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 117.

[6] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672; J. C. Atkinson, *History of Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, vol. i, p. 202 note.

[7] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 120.

[8] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.

[9] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 122.

Priors of Craswall

Simond de Clifford,[1] occurs before 1231.
Geoffrey,[2] occurs 1233.
Reginald,[3] occurs 1252 and 1253.
Hugh,[4] occurs 1259.
Roger,[5] occurs 1287 and 1289.
John of Cublington,[6] occurs 1359.

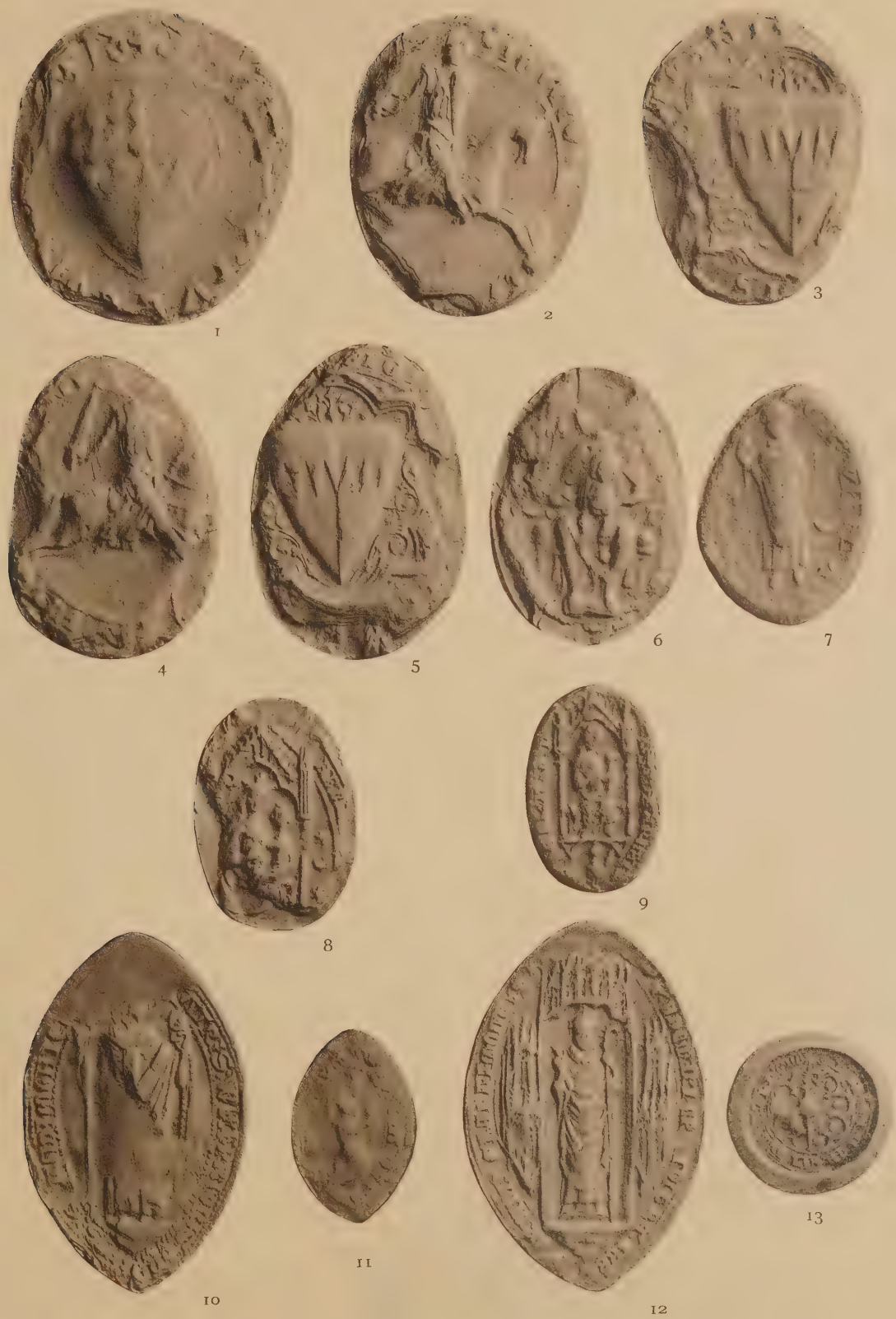
Priors of Grosmont

Roger,[7] occurs 1287.
William Whitby,[8] occurs 1469.
John Banks,[9] occurs *circa* 1518.
James Egton alias Ableson,[10] occurs 1536.

Priors of Alberbury

Gerard.[11]
Lambert.[12]
Geoffrey,[13] occurs 1245.
Peter of London,[14] occurs 1247, 1248.
John,[15] occurs 1255.
Randolph,[16] occurs 1259 and 1267.
Peter de Corcellis,[17] occurs 1286 and 1289.
Gerard,[18] occurs 1298.
Roger,[19] occurs 1299.
Arnold Rissa,[20] occurs 1315 and *circa* 1317.
Stephen,[21] occurs 1346.
Richard of Hatton,[22] occurs 1347.
John of Cublington,[23] occurs 1357 and 1359.
Robert Newton,[24] occurs 1359.
Richard of Stretton,[25] described as late prior in 1363.
Richard of Hatton,[26] occurs 1363, 1365, 1381, 1388.
John Colle,[27] 1391.
Robert,[28] occurs 1421.

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 490.
[2] *Woolhope Club Transactions*, 1914–17, p. 271.
[3] MS. Harl. 6203, ff. 26, 26v, British Museum.
[4] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 117.
[5] Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672; *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Richard Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes (Canterbury and York Society), p. 223.
[6] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 122.
[7] *Guisborough Cartulary*, Surtees Society, vol. ii, p. 154.
[8] *Yorkshire Archaeol. Soc.*, Record series xvii, p. 72.
[9] *V. C. H. Yorkshire*, vol. iii, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 90.
[12] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 19.
[13] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 19.
[14] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 23; Alberbury, nos. 68, 71.
[15] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 26.
[16] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, nos. 117, 47.
[17] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, Richard Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes (Canterbury and York Society), pp. 216, 222.
[18] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Whadborough, no. 28.
[19] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 29.
[20] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 120; Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[21] *Episcopal Registers of Hereford, John de Trillek*, ed. J. H. Parry (Canterbury and York Society), p. 288.
[22] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 24.
[23] Rot. Pat. 31 Ed. III, pt. i, m. 24d; Archives de la Haute Vienne, liasse 1672.
[24] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 122.
[25] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1361–4, p. 347.
[26] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 123; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1364–7, p. 202 *ibid.*, 1381–5, p. 40; *ibid.*, 1385–9, p. 438.
[27] *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1391–6, p. 1.
[28] Archives of All Souls College, Oxford, Alberbury, no. 126.



SEALS OF FULK FITZWARINE, AND OF LILLESHALL, ALBERBURY, AND GRANDMONT

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON THE SEALS (pl. XXXI)

1. The Seals of Fulk FitzWarine

Fulk FitzWarine, the founder of Alberbury, was the son of Fulk FitzWarine and Hawisa de Dinan. He married (1) in 1207 Matilda de Vavasour, who was dead in 1226; (2) Clare de Auberville.[1]

The first seal is attached to an undated charter[2] granted after 1226, before 1234, probably before 1232. It is damaged and badly rubbed, but it appears to be unique. The design is a pip-shaped shield of arms, quarterly per fess indented, the first quarter ermine. The legend appears to be +[SIG]ILL[VM] FVLCON' [FIL' W]AR' (no. 1).

The counterseal is a smaller pip-shaped shield of arms, on which nothing can be distinguished.

Two broken impressions of the second seal are attached to Alberbury documents which prove that it belonged to the same Fulk FitzWarine as the first, because the names of his mother Hawisa and his two wives, Matilda and Clare, are mentioned in one or other of them. One document in which Clare is mentioned is dated 1252.[3] The second document is undated,[4] and is certainly earlier, for the soul of Matilda alone is mentioned, whereas Fulk is known to have been married to Clare at least as early as 1250. Another impression of the same seal is attached to an undated charter in the British Museum[5]; it has not been identified as the seal of Fulk FitzWarine of Alberbury and Whittington, but is described as the seal of Fulk FitzWarine of Alveston co. Gloucester, because it is attached to a document granting land to a man in Alveston.[6]

The design is an equestrian figure in armour to the right; he wears a close helmet and surcoat, and a shield with his coat of arms is suspended by guiges on his left arm. The legend combined from both impressions is SIGILLVM [FV]LC[ONI]S FIL[II WARI]NI (nos. 2 and 4).

The design of the counterseal is within a finely designed quatrefoil a shield of arms, quarterly per fess indented for FitzWarine, between sprigs of foliage. The legend combined from both impressions is +SIG[ILLVM FU]LC[ON]IS [FILII W]ARINI (nos. 3 and 5).

2. The Seals of Lilleshall

i. The seal of the convent represents the Virgin seated, the lily sceptre in her right hand, the Child seated in the middle of her lap. In the field on the right the word AVE. The legend originally was SIGILL' ECCLESIE BEATE MARIE DE LILLESHVLL (no. 6).[7]

ii. The seal of Abbot William (1226–35) which is used as the counterseal. The design is the Abbot standing in mass vestments, a crozier in his right hand, and a book in his left; in the field on the left two stars, on the right a crescent. The legend is SIGILL' : WILL'I : ABBATIS : DE LILL[ESHVLL] (no. 7).[8] It appears to be the only known seal of an abbot of Lilleshall.

[1] Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. vii, pp. 71–82.
[2] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 107.
[3] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 115.
[4] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 1.
[5] Harleian Charter 50 C. 15.
[6] W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, no. 6022.
[7] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 118; cf. W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, no. 3469.
[8] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 118.

3. The Seals of Alberbury

i. This seal is attached to a grant made by Geoffrey, prior, and the convent of Alberbury of land at Whadborough, in which the following words occur: 'et ad majorem hujusmodi rei securitatem presentem cartam sigilli nostri impressione roboravimus'.[1] The position of the only surviving letters of the legend ABB creates a difficulty. The property was in Leicestershire, and some of the witnesses are Leicestershire names. It may be suggested that possibly the seal was borrowed from a neighbouring monastic house, but it has not been identified. The design is a fragment of a figure of the Virgin crowned, with the Child on her left knee, under a canopy; in the field on the right a crescent between two stars (no. 8).

ii. This seal is attached to a lease granted by the prior and convent in 1317.[2] The design is a Grandmontine brother in prayer to the right below the Virgin and Child under a canopy. The legend is [SIGILL'] ARNALDI [PRIORIS] DE ALB[VR]BVR' (no. 9).

4. The Seals of Grandmont

i. The seal of William de Dongres, prior of the order of Grandmont (1245–8). It is attached to an undated document, a release by Robert, prior of Laund, Leicestershire, to William, prior of Grandmont and the convent and the custos and brethren of Alberbury, of the title to the wood of Whadborough in return for land at Laund.[3] The document is endorsed as presented before the Itinerant Justices at Lichfield on February 2, 1248. No impression of this seal is known to exist in France. The design is the standing figure of the prior in elaborately ornamented mass vestments, the crozier in his right hand, the book in his left. The legend is [S F]RATRIS : WILL'I : PRIORIS : ORDINIS : GRANDIMONTIS (no. 10). On the counterseal there is a brother of Grandmont in prayer to the right with an outstretched hand above him; the legend is GRACIA · DEI · S[V]M · QVOD · SVM (no. 11).

ii. The seal of Adémar Crespi, abbot of the Order of Grandmont (1355–78). A much-damaged impression is attached to a document at All Souls dated 1359 containing the words 'sigillum nostrum quo pro nobis et conventu nostro communiter utemur'.[4] It is reproduced from a cast of the sole impression in France, now in the Archives in Paris.[5] It represents a mitred abbot standing under a canopy, holding his crozier in his left hand, and blessing with the right. The legend is ✳S' · ADEMARI · CREPI · DI · GRA' · ABBATIS : ORDINIS : GRANDIMONTIS (no. 12). On the counterseal is a hand issuing from the left, holding a crozier, with a cusped opening with stars in the cusps. The legend is S' ADEMARI CREPI ABBAT' GRD'MON̄ (no. 13).

[1] Archives of All Souls, Whadborough, no. 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 38.
[3] *Ibid.*, Whadborough, no. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 123.
[5] Bosredon, *Sigillographie de la Haute Vienne*, p. 221; L. Douet d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, no. 8741.

PART II. ARCHITECTURE

By A. W. Clapham

The architecture of the Order of Grandmont in France has been the subject of a series of articles by the late Comte A. de Dion in the *Bulletin Monumental*[1] of 1874–8. To this author is due the credit of having first pointed out the remarkable uniformity which characterizes the plan and construction of the earlier Grandmontine churches, a uniformity which is not less remarkable than that of the Cistercian churches of the same period. The subject has recently been carried a step farther by the publication of a monograph on Comberoumal,[2] perhaps the most complete surviving priory of France, but otherwise the available information is scattered and fragmentary.

The earliest Grandmontine communities consisted of men living in detached cells with a common oratory and fashioned after the model of the communities of Camaldolesi in Italy. These cells were originally of timber, but no doubt subsequently were translated into more durable material where such was available. A cell of this character has been recognized in the neighbourhood of Comberoumal,[3] near Rodez. It is mainly a cavity in the rock with a built wall in front, the windows in which date from the twelfth century. A rather more advanced type of convent is exemplified at Trézern[4] (Haute Vienne), which retained a simple oratory with a dwelling house annexed to the west end, until it was destroyed in 1905. Establishments of these early types, however, soon gave way to a more normal monastic arrangement, a change which may perhaps date from the removal of the head house of the order from Muret to Grandmont in 1125. The only trace remaining in the later buildings of the eremitical type of life was the division of the common dorter into separate cells. The existing remains of several houses show that this arrangement was practised from the first and was not, as in other orders, a symptom of the later relaxation of the rule. It is unfortunate that at Grandmont, the head house of the order, nothing remains above ground of the buildings of the abbey, and no plan of the convent

[1] Comte A. de Dion, 'Notes sur l'architecture de l'ordre de Grandmont', *Bull. Mon.*, 1874 and 1876 to 1878.

[2] D. Rey, *Le Prieuré de Comberoumal*, Rodez, 1925.

[3] D. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 21 *et seq.*, with plan.

[4] See plan in *Bull. Mon.* xliv (1878), p. 137, and D. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

before its destruction seems to have survived. There is, however, a remarkable late sixteenth-century description of the church, written by the then sacrist, Pardoux de la Garde,[1] which gives a fairly clear idea of the building, as it then existed, and enters, in more detail, into its ritual arrangements and ornaments. The treasure of the church of Grandmont was amongst the richest in central France, and by a fortunate chance a large number of the objects that it contained has survived to the present day; de la Garde's description gives some indication of the disposition of the most important of these objects before their dispersal.

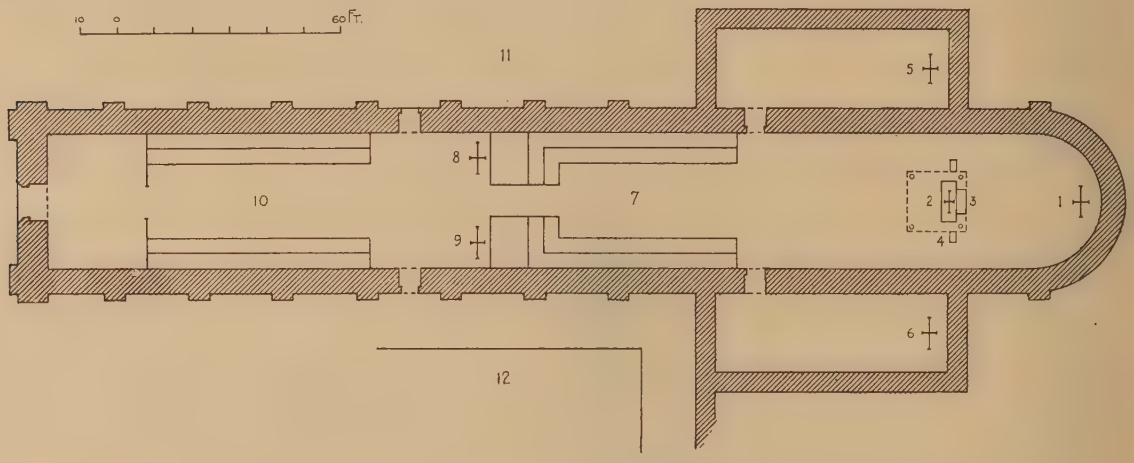


Fig. 1. Grandmont Abbey: diagram showing suggested arrangement of the church.
1. Prime altar. 2. High altar. 3. Shrine of St. Stephen of Muret. 4. Shrine of St. Macaire. 5. Altar of St. Peter. 6. Altar of SS. John Baptist and Bartholomew. 7. Quire of the monks. 8. Altar of St. Martial. 9. Altar of St. Catherine. 10. Quire of the Conversi. 11. Cemetery called 'England'. 12. Cloister.

The buildings of the abbey, according to this authority, consisted of the church, cloister,[2] chapter-house, sacristy, refectory, chapels, revestry, and other buildings, all constructed and vaulted in Grison stone (fig. 1). The church was 95 long paces, or 283 feet, long by 12 long paces, or 36 feet, wide and 15 fathoms high (the last figure seems excessive and was probably a bad guess) all internally. The vault was unsupported by columns, and so presumably was of barrel form, and on both sides of the church were twenty-five windows, 'after the ancient manner'. The building was divided internally by a screen into a quire of the monks, to the east, and a quire of the conversi, to the west. Both of these quires are said to have had 200 stalls, but the details of the account show that there were, in each quire, an upper and a lower range on each side, each of twenty-five stalls,

[1] Reprinted in full in Appendix from *Bull. de la Soc. Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, t. xxv, p. 373.

[2] The four cloisters mentioned in the description are probably the four alleys of the great cloister.

making 100 in all. The high altar was surmounted by a lofty baldachino resting on four fluted columns and having a series of interlacing arches above; at each angle were plates of gilded bronze enriched with large roses, 'the ancient arms', says de la Garde, 'of the kings of England, founders of the said monastery and of many other priories and houses of the order'. The altar itself had a frontal of gilt and enamelled bronze with scenes from the old and new testaments, the thirteen apostles and other saints. Raised on the retable of the altar was the shrine of St. Stephen of Muret, founder of the order, a coffer of gilt and enamelled bronze enriched with precious stones and having the whole life of the saint portrayed by figures in repoussé work. Two plaques now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris, have been identified as parts of this shrine and of the altar.[1] In the same coffer was also the body of a child, variously reported to be one of the Holy Innocents or a child of Ambazac who saw St. Stephen's translation to heaven and died immediately afterwards. On the right of the altar was another shrine of bronze gilt, containing the body of St. Macaire, a soldier of the Theban legion, given to Grandmont in 1269 by Thibault, king of Navarre;[2] this is the shrine[3] still preserved at Ambazac. Below that of St. Macaire were two other shrines, containing the bones of two or three of St. Ursula's virgins, martyred at Cologne. In the corresponding position on the left of the high altar were three more shrines with the bones of others of St. Ursula's virgins. Above the altar was a canopy of fine linen suspended from the vault (presumably of the baldachino) by a thick iron chain. At the prime altar, here placed behind the high altar, was a large cross of bronze gilt, with a portion of the true cross and many relics of saints, and on the navel of the crucifix was a carbuncle 'which has no lustre, having been quenched in some manner'. Against the screen between the two quires were the two altars of St. Martial, on the north, and St. Catherine, on the south; they were commonly called the altars of St. Fiacre and St. Sebastian from the relics of those saints, there preserved. These altars are mentioned in a bull of Pope Clement V[4] as the eastern limit beyond which no woman might have access.

To the north of the monks' quire was a vaulted vestry with an altar of St. Peter, and in the corresponding position on the south side was a vaulted chapel of St. John the Baptist and St. Bartholomew; this last was commonly known as the chapel of St. Stephen, because when the body of the saint was first brought from Muret to Grandmont he was buried here and in the same chapel 'repose

[1] See p. 167.
[2] Levesque, *Annales Ordinis Grandimontis*, p. 97; *Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin*, lvii, p. 565.
[3] See pl. xxx, fig. 2.
[4] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus* (ed. 1738), iv, p. 949.

the bodies of many holy hermits his disciples and successors'. The building had a vaulted upper storey with an altar of St. Michael.[1]

Outside the church, to the north of the altar of St. Martial, was a place in the cemetery called 'England'[2] containing the tombs of various English lords and princes, surmised by de la Garde to have been governors of Guyenne under the English crown. In the cemetery there was a 'lanterne des morts'.[3] The statutes of Clement V[4] mention the existence of outer and inner gates to the monastery.

The church of Grandmont, described above, was begun under the fourth prior, Stephen de Lissac[5] (1139–53), dedicated in 1165,[6] and finished *c.* 1176–80 with the assistance of Henry II of England, who provided the lead for the roof. It was long, aisleless, probably barrel-vaulted, and almost certainly terminated in an apse: a large vaulted chapel or vestry flanked it on the north and south. This church survived until 1752 when it was reconstructed on a cruciform plan.[7] In 1771 the buildings were dismantled and the treasure distributed among the parish churches of the neighbourhood; finally in 1817 the stone of the surviving buildings, including the church, was removed to build a prison at Limoges.[8] Nothing now remains above ground in the hamlet of Grandmont.

It is fortunate that other houses of the order in France have suffered less severely than Grandmont, and it is from these that an idea can be gained of the peculiarities which characterize their buildings. The Comte de Dion reproduces plans of four of these houses[9] and describes a large number more, so that from this and other sources the salient features of the plan can be well established. Practically without exception the French churches of the order were aisleless buildings terminating in an apse and, where the early building survives, they are roofed with a barrel-vault and lit only by windows at the east and west ends. Except in the matter of side windows, therefore, the smaller churches

[1] *Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin*, xxv, p. 381. A description of the church before the rebuilding mentions the two chapels 'voûte sur voûte' of St. Michael and St. John the Baptist (otherwise St. Stephen). The position of these chapels adjoining the church at the north-east angle of the cloister is further fixed by a record of the burial of Robert de Sarran, abbot of S. Pons, Thomiéres, 'in capite claustri ante ostium capelle S. Stephani', in 1220.

[2] There was a doorway called the English door opening at this point into the church. Statutes of the General Chapter of 1473, chap. x. Lecler, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

[3] Levesque, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[4] Martène, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 950.

[5] See *ante*, p. 164.

[6] Under Prior Peter Bernadi de Boschiac (1161–7), 'Ecclesiam perfecit ex parte capitis usque ad ingressum chori clericorum que ante inchoata fuerat et facta a parte inferiori'.

[7] *Bull. Mon.* xlii (1876), p. 250.

[8] *Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin*, xxiv, p. 364.

[9] Bois-Rahier-lès-Tours, Le-Parc-lès-Rouen, L'Enfourchure de Dimont, and St. Jean des Bonshommes (Charbonnières). He cites similar churches at Badeix, Louye and Les Moulineaux, each with a barrel-vault and three windows in the apse.

follow the plan of the church at Grandmont, and in several instances, such as Bois-Rahier-lès-Tours (fig. 2)[1] and La-Haye-lès-Angers (fig. 3),[2] a side chapel is present corresponding to the chapel of St. Stephen at the mother church. One further

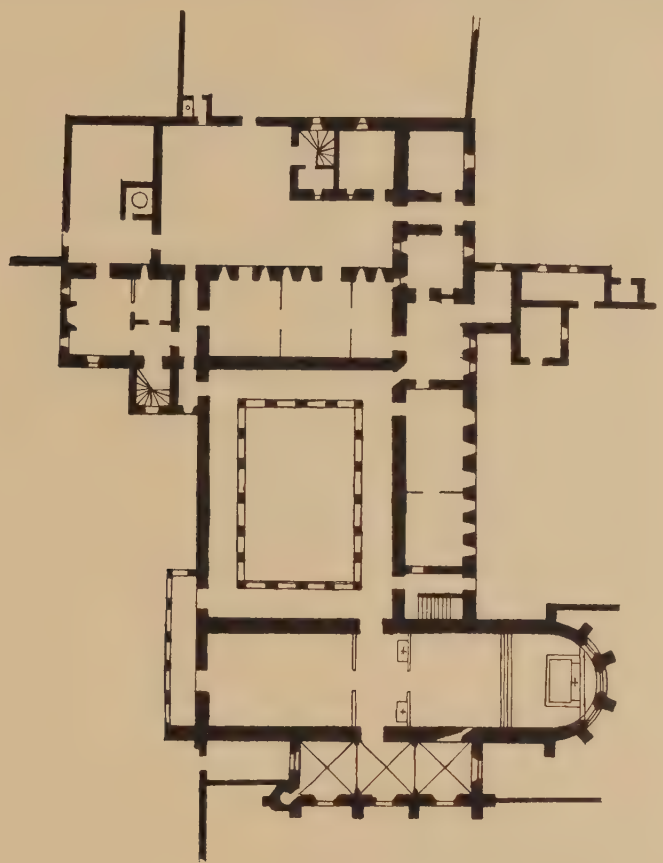


Fig. 2. Bois-Rahier-lès-Tours Priory: ground-plan.
From *Bulletin Monumental*, xlii.

and very remarkable peculiarity is observable in the twelfth-century churches of the order, such as Comberoumal (fig. 4), Lodève,[3] Charbonnières (fig. 5),[4] and Angers; the apse is of wider span than the body of the church, necessitating a curious internal offset. For the origin of this unusual convention I am unable

[1] Plan in *Bull. Mon.* xlii (1876), p. 252.

[2] Plan in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 4th ser. x (1899), p. 216. The church has some remarkable mural paintings and the barrel-vault has painted ribs.

[3] The fact of the presence of the offset at Lodève S. Michel de Grandmont was communicated to me by M. Camille Enlart, Hon. F.S.A. See plan in Révoil, *L'Architecture romane du midi de la France*, ii, pl. 10, and D. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[4] Plan in *Bull. Mon.* and in *Congrès Arch. de France* (Avallon), 1907, p. 94.

to suggest any reasonable explanation; a break between the apse and the body of a barrel-vaulted church is usual enough, but, outside the Grandmontine order, the span of the apse is invariably *less* than that of the main body.

The domestic buildings follow the normal lay-out of a Benedictine house, and it is only in the chapter-house that any peculiarity is observable. This building seldom, if ever, extended beyond the lines of the range, east of the cloister, of which it formed a part. Additional space, where necessary, was obtained by an extension in width, making the apartment considerably longer from north to south than from east to west. The roof of the larger chapter-houses was commonly supported on two columns after the Cistercian or Premonstratensian manner.

The priories at Comberoumal (pl. XXXII, fig. 1), Lodève, and Charbonnières (pl. XXXII, fig. 2),[1] near Avallon, are the best preserved twelfth-century houses of the order in France. In general arrangement they are almost identical and accord with the remarks already made; they have in addition the remarkable feature of a dorter staircase descending within the east alley of the cloister. The whole plan of these three houses presents a remarkable similarity to the remains at Craswall, the chief of the three Grandmontine priories in England, which will now be considered.

Craswall Priory

The priory of St. Mary at Craswall is situated in the upper valley of the Monnow, not far below one of the sources of that stream. The position is remote and difficult of access, being about a mile beyond the termination of the nearest road and some 1,240 ft. above sea-level. The hills immediately surrounding the valley are pasture or woodland, but a mile or two to the west rise the barren and forbidding slopes of the Black Mountains. The site itself is thickly overgrown with trees and is surrounded by the remains of walls; through it runs a small stream, which, diverted from its original course, or perhaps formerly running in an enclosed channel, now crosses the site of the frater. The general state of the ruins is deplorable; the walls, built of the local shale, are everywhere dislocated by trees and creepers, and it is only to the fact that most of the building was buried many feet deep in fallen rubbish and earth, that the preservation of so much of the structure is due. The buildings were evidently abandoned after the confiscation of the alien houses and consequently none of the remains dates from a later period; indeed there are no datable features of the building subsequent to the thirteenth century.

[1] The priory was founded between 1174 and 1192 by Anseri IV, Seigneur of Montréal and Seneschal of Burgundy. *Congrès Arch. de France*, 1907, p. 540.

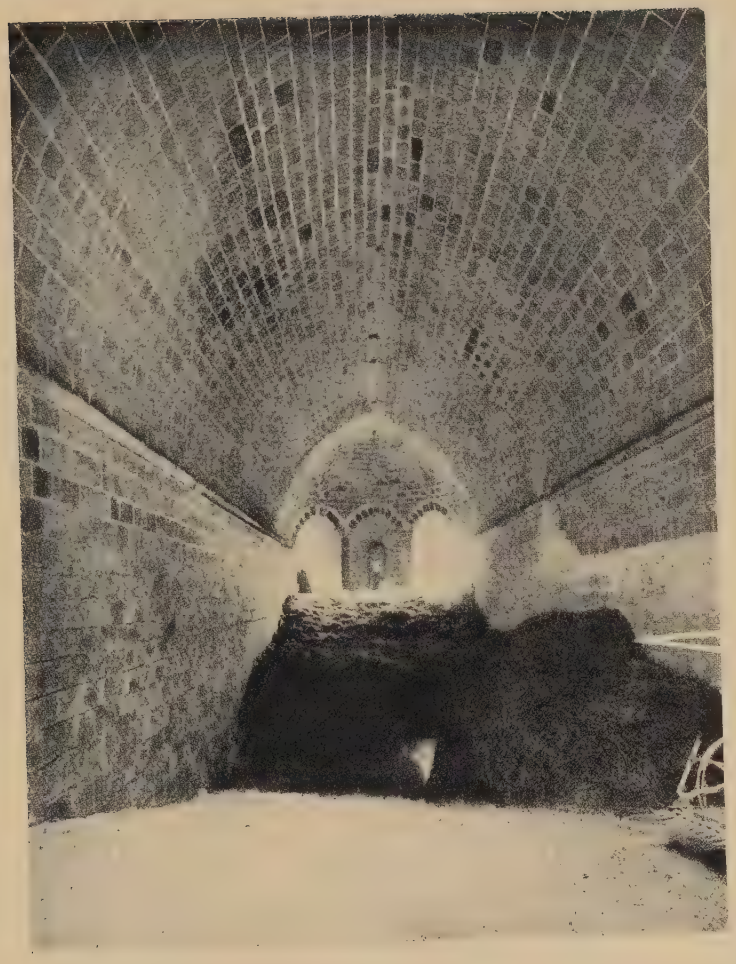


Fig. 1. Comberoumal Priory : interior of church
From Rey, *Le Prieuré de Comberoumal*

Fig. 2. Saint Jean des Bonshommes, Charbonnières

Fig. 1. Craswall Priory: south side of apse *A. Watkins, F.R.P.S., photo.*

Fig. 2. Craswall Priory: apse looking east *A. Watkins, F.R.P.S., photo.*

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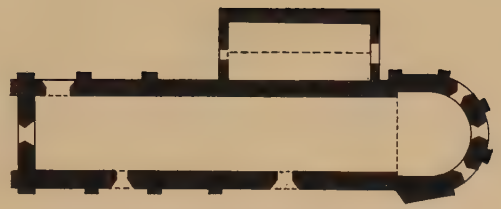

Fig. 3. La-Haye-lès-Angers: ground-plan.

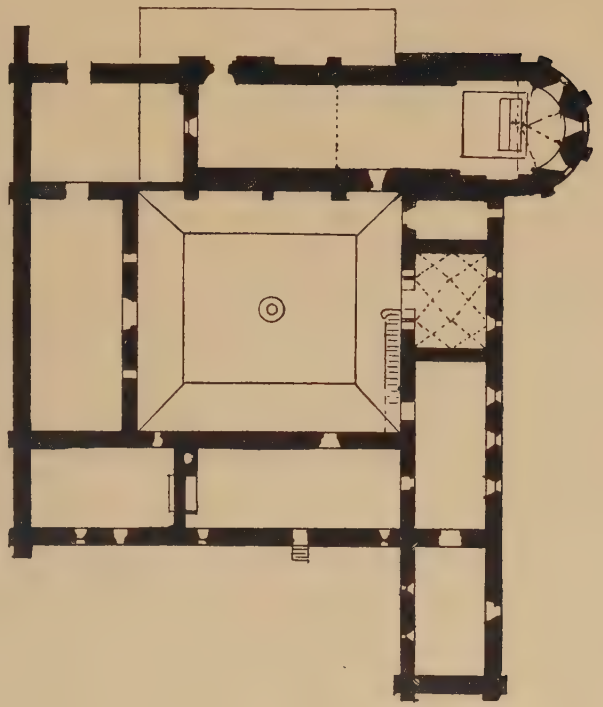

Fig. 5. Charbonnières Priory: ground-plan.
From Rey, *Le Prieuré de Comberoumal.*

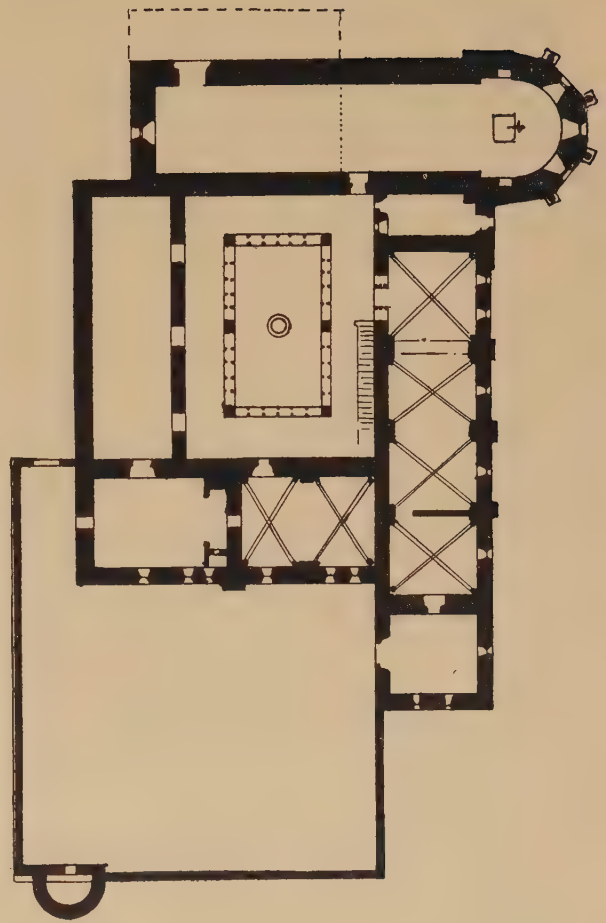

Fig. 4. Comberoumal Priory: ground-plan.
From Rey, *Le Prieuré de Comberoumal.*

These plans are to a uniform scale of about 43 ft. (13·1 metres) to 1 inch.

The excavations conducted by the Woolhope Field Club[1] between the years 1903 and 1906 were only partial; they included the clearing of the eastern half of the church, the whole of the chapter-house, and the eastern part of the cloister; otherwise little seems to have been done. The completion of a work of this nature, once abandoned, especially in so remote a situation, is a most unlikely contingency, and unless the building is taken over as a national monument, I see little hope of any further addition to our knowledge of the structure.

The main block of the buildings consists of the church with the cloister on the south side, dorter-range with chapter-house, etc., beneath it, east of the cloister, the frater-range south of, and the cellarer's range west of the cloister (fig. 6). To the south-west of the claustral block are fairly extensive foundation mounds of other buildings.

The *Church* (107½ ft. by 23½ ft.) has walls 5½ ft. thick apparently unsupported by buttresses; from the unusual thickness of these walls it would appear probable that the building was barrel-vaulted in stone, which would also account for the great masses of fallen rubble which buried the floor to a depth of 6 ft. or more. At a distance of 24½ ft. from the extreme east end the walls on each side are set back, giving a width of 25¼ ft. to the presbytery. The presbytery itself terminates in a semicircular apse formerly lit by three windows of which parts of the western splays of the two side ones yet remain (pl. XXXIII). The roof of this part of the building was perhaps a ribbed vault butting against the barrel-vault of the nave at a higher level. Immediately east of the set back, on each side, is a doorway and east of the doorway on the north is a recess rebated for a door. The north doorway opened into a chapel of indeterminate size but retaining traces of one springer of a stone vault. The south doorway opened into the sacristy which has in the north wall a round-headed locker, rebated for a door. The nave is entirely devoid of detail save that the splays of a doorway from the cloister remain in the south wall. The westerly position of this opening seems to be conditioned by the extent of the former quire of the monks, though there is now no trace of the stalls. Whether there was a doorway in the north or west walls of the nave is not now ascertainable as the western part of the building is still buried 6 or 8 ft. deep in rubbish. The walls are, however, in several places standing to a considerable height and present no traces of side windows. Such are the general features of the church, and it will be at once apparent how very close is the resemblance to the churches of the order in France already described. Craswall provides another instance of the barrel-vaulted nave without side windows, the offset between the nave and chancel, the apse with three windows, and the chapel and sacristy flanking the quire as at Grandmont. The ritual arrangements at Craswall are fairly clear, the high altar, lacking its

[1] See *Woolhope Field Club Trans.*, vol. for 1902–4, p. 272; vol. for 1908–11, p. 36.

slab, is still standing 6 ft. in advance of the wall of the apse; much of the pavement and steps of the presbytery is still in position, the pavement being of flat

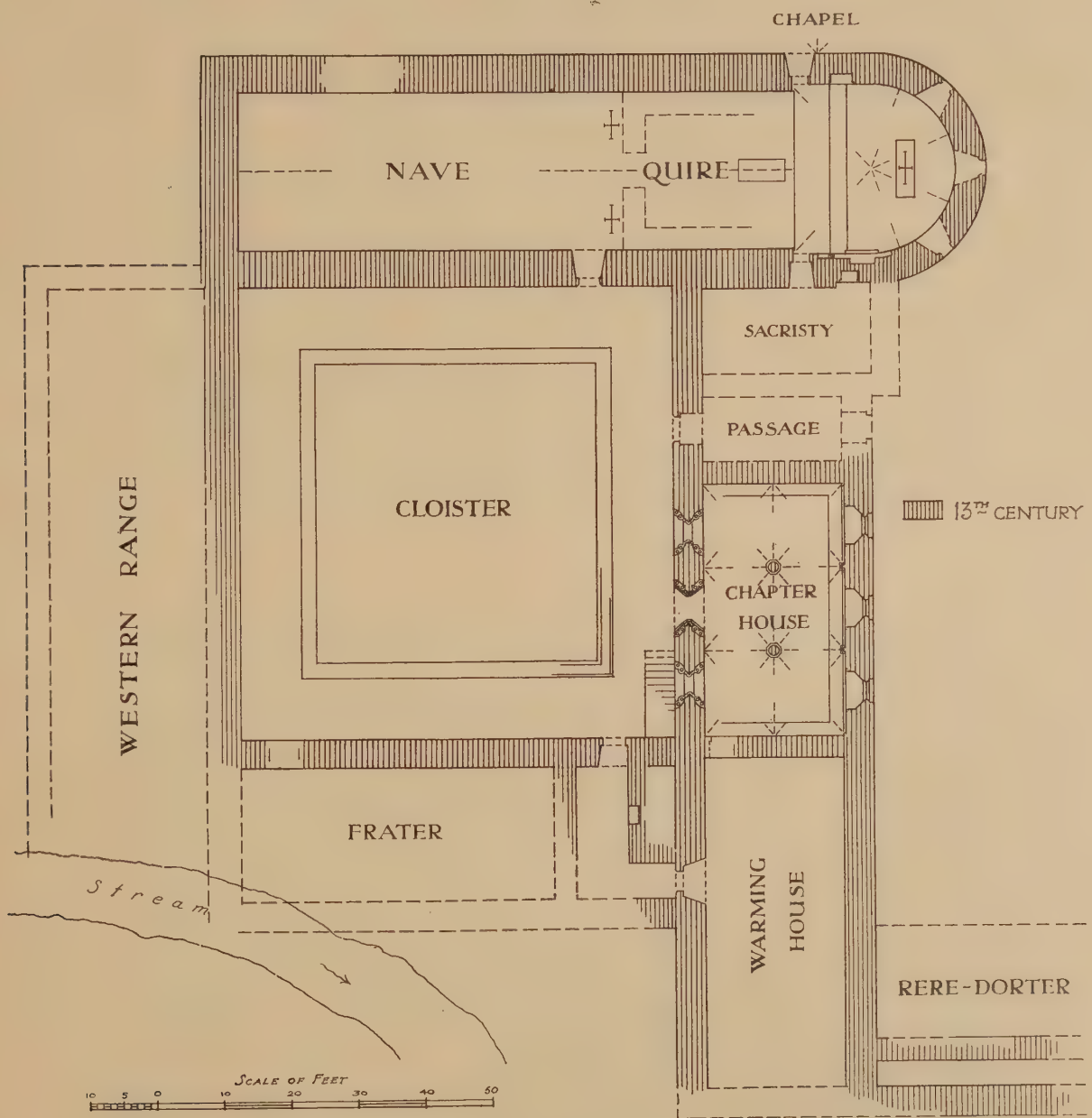

Fig. 6. Craswall Priory, Herefordshire: ground-plan.

irregular slabs, fitted roughly together. In the south wall east of the sacristy-door are remains of an elaborate double piscina and sedilia. To the west of

the presbytery-steps is a large built tomb, probably of one of the founder's family and possibly his son Gilbert de Lacy, but now lacking its cover; immediately west of this must have stood the quire of the monks, and excavation might possibly reveal traces of a quire of the conversi in the nave, corresponding to that at Grandmont. The whole building would appear to date from the foundation of the house early in the thirteenth century.

The *Cloister* (64½ ft. by 67¼ ft.) adjoins the nave on the south and was conterminous with it on the west. Traces of the arcade-wall remain on all four sides and the south-east angle has been excavated. At this point the actual wall was 1½ ft. thick with offsets on each side; it supported an open arcade of which some portions are now deposited in the church. Descending into the east walk of the cloister is a dorter staircase, 4½ ft. wide and built against the face of the eastern range; that this was the original arrangement is proved by the fact that the southern jamb-shaft of the adjoining chapter-house window is set at a higher level than the rest to avoid the stairs. This position of the staircase is exactly paralleled at St. Jean des Bonshommes, Charbonnières.

The *Eastern Range* appears to have consisted on the ground floor, of the sacristy, a passage to the cemetery, the chapter-house and an undercroft, probably serving, as at Grosmont, as the warming-house. On the upper floor was the dorter of which there are no remains. The *Sacristy* adjoins the church and has not been completely excavated; it seems to have extended east beyond the general line of the range, which would have cut across the still existing locker in the north wall. Of the *Passage* to the cemetery only the west wall, with remains of one jamb of the doorway, is now visible. The *Chapter-house* (37¼ ft. by 20¾ ft.) has been completely cleared and is the most ornate part of the building (pl. XXXIV). It follows the Grandmontine usage in being the same width as the range, and is divided into three bays from north to south and two bays from east to west by two round columns; the northern column has a chamfered base but the base of the southern is moulded. Large quantities of moulded vaulting-ribs were found in the building and the vault sprang, against the walls, from grouped shafts, some of which remain, resting on brackets. The chapter-house was entered from the cloister by a central doorway flanked by triple attached shafts in the narrowest part of the opening and by two detached shafts on each of the splayed reveals both inside and outside the building; all the shafts have moulded bases, still remaining, standing on a continuous chamfered plinth. Flanking the doorway and occupying the other two bays of the chapter-house wall are two windows; each opening had triple attached shafts, in this instance keeled or filleted, and a broad hollow to each splay with two detached shafts. Remains of three windows, all with moulded reveals, exist in the east wall, and on the east and south sides of the building are

A. Watkins, F.R.P.S., photo.

Fig. 1. Craswall Priory: chapter-house doorway

A. Watkins, F.R.P.S., photo.

Fig. 2. Craswall Priory: chapter-house looking north-west

Alberbury Priory: plan of the site in 1579 from a MS. at All Souls College, Oxford

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traces of a stone bench. In the south wall are remains of what may have been an inserted doorway.

The *Undercroft* (38½ ft. by 20¾ ft.) to the south of the chapter-house has left only fragments of wall with one doorway on the west side. Projecting to the east from the south end of the building are remains of the drain of the rere-dorter.

The *Frater Range* (19½ ft. wide internally) has largely perished except for the east end. At this end a portion is walled off, under the dorter stairs. Next to it is a passage, 7½ ft. wide, with a doorway into the cloister and a right-angled turn, within the range, communicating with the doorway into the dorter sub-vault. The rest of the range has no surviving features.

The *Western Range* is represented only by the low foundation mounds of its north end and west side, though a portion of the wall bounding the cloister is still standing.

To the south-west of the main block and now separated from it by the stream are further foundation mounds which probably represent the kitchen and perhaps the guest-house.

Alberbury Priory

Fulk FitzWarine's foundation at Alberbury has left less extensive remains than its sister house at Craswall; what survives is, however, of considerable interest. The remains now form a farm-house, called White Abbey, a short distance from the right bank of the Severn, eight miles west of Shrewsbury. The farm-house consists of a section of the main church of the priory, standing east and west, with a rectangular chapel of three bays, flanking it on the north. Both buildings are nearly contemporary, the church dating from the foundation of the house about 1226 and the chapel perhaps a few years later.

The history of the building can be readily traced from documentary sources, and the fortunate survival of a sixteenth-century plan (pl. xxxv)[1] enables the whole of the lay-out of the precinct to be established with accuracy. More than thirty years after the transfer of the buildings to All Souls College an award[2] of Thomas Mylling, bishop of Hereford (1474–92) directs that the warden and

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 226. A 'plate forme' made in 1579.

[2] *Ibid.*, Alberbury, no. 133. 'Ut deo fidelius servatur et animabus fundatorum predicti monasterii novi et maxime eorum qui ibidem sepulti sunt citius succureatur laudamus arbitramur et volumus quod magister Johannes Stokes gardianus antedicti collegii omnium animarum in universitate Oxonie modernus et socii ejusdem ac sui omnes et singuli futuris temporibus in dicto collegio eisdem gardiano et sociis successuri bene et sufficienter sustentabunt, reparabunt et manutenebunt, sumptibus suis propriis et expensis quamdam capellam infra ceptum prefati Monasterii Novi, fundatam ac in honore sancti Stephani dedicatam, una cum choro dicte ecclesie ubi corpora fundatorum ejusdem requiescunt'.

fellows are to maintain a certain chapel of St. Stephen, within the monastery, together with the quire of the church, where repose the bodies of the founders. It would appear to be in pursuance of this injunction that certain repairs were undertaken by the college, of which the details are preserved in a late fifteenth-century account [1] at All Souls. These details include the following: repairs to the windows of the quire, repairs to the chapel of St. Stephen, clearing the gutters between the church and St. Stephen's chapel, making doors and two windows above the vault of St. Stephen's chapel and a rope for the small bell in the abbey. The foregoing particulars from the award and the account, taken together, enable one at once to identify the existing building with the quire of the priory church and the adjoining chapel of St. Stephen (no doubt St. Stephen of Muret). The quire, as it stands, is, however, not complete; in 1857–8 the square east end,[2] extending some 24 ft. farther to the east, was pulled down and the surviving building reduced to a plain rectangular plan. At this time also the existing cellar under the quire of the church was excavated and in the course of the work five bodies were found. There seems little reason to doubt that these included the remains of Fulk FitzWarine, the founder, and his two wives who would thus appear to have been buried before the presbytery steps, just to the east of the monks' stalls, a position exactly analogous to that of the important burial found at Craswall.

[1] Archives of All Souls, Alberbury, no. 190.

Hec sunt expense quas procuratores expenderunt in reparacione cancelli ecclesie de Alberbury et nove abbacie.

In primis pro reparacione fenestrarum chori ecclesie	iij*s.*
Item Johanni Wryght et Henrico ap Adam circa reparacionem capelle sancti Stephani	xxvij*s.* x*jd.*
Item eidem Johanni Wryght et Maddok Sayr pro tectura parcelle chori et fissione asserum	iij*s.* viij*d.*
Item Meryddyth ap Dyo pro sarrando gutturum quod ponitur inter ecclesiam et capellam sancti Stephani	— —
Item Johanni Tyler pro tectura capelle sancti Stephani	xv*s.* iiij*d.*
Item Johanni ap Henry pro collectione musci et serviendo Johanni Tyler	xx*d.*
Item Yevan ap Maddok Sayr et Richardo ap Henry pro fissione asserum et suscisione querci	vj*d.*
Item pro sepiendo sepem circa cimiterium et pomerium et ecclesiam et circuitum abbatie	x*s.* x*d.*
Item pro mundacione ecclesie et succisione fructuum in cimiterio	xvj*d.*
Item pro clavis majoribus et minoribus	iij*s.* x*jd.*
Item pro iiij^{or} seris et clavibus earum	xx*d.*
Item Henrico ap Adam pro duabus tabulis et factura hostii et duarum fenestrarum super fornicem capelle sancti Stephani	ij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item pro stapella, seri et clave porte cimiterii ecclesie de Alberbury	ij*d. ob.*
Item pro fiala	iiij*d.*
Item pro corda parve campane in abbatia	iiij*d.*

[2] The building pulled down in 1857 extended also across the east end of St. Stephen's chapel. It was of two storeys and lit by two ranges of windows all square beaded and of late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century date, except two pointed windows probably of the thirteenth century and reset.

Turning now to the purely architectural side of the subject, the accompanying plan (fig. 7) is the result of excavations undertaken by the Shropshire Archaeological Society during the third week of February 1925, with the permission of the warden and fellows of All Souls College and with the cordial

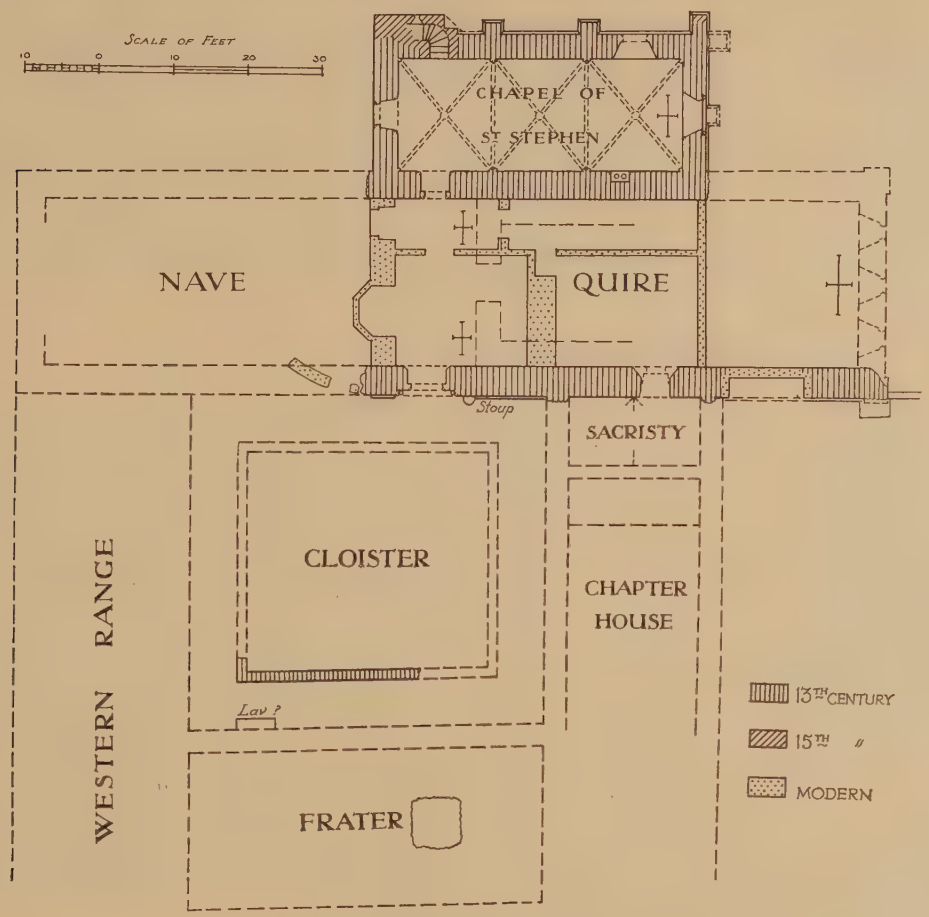


Fig. 7. Alberbury Priory, Shropshire: ground-plan.

co-operation of their tenant Mr. Morris. The work was rendered possible through the liberality of Sir Charles Marston, of Afecote, Wolverhampton, who bore the whole cost, and the assistance of Miss L. Chitty, who not only made all the arrangements, but herself superintended the operations. Both Miss Graham and myself visited the site while the works were in progress. Most of the foundations of the destroyed buildings had been, unfortunately, grubbed up but sufficient remained to enable the arrangements, shown on the Elizabethan plan, to be reduced to exact dimensions and the results to be plotted with a very slight margin of error.

The *Church* was square-ended, a feature shown on the Elizabethan plan, and was never vaulted in stone, as evidenced by the comparative thinness of the side walls. Both these are departures from the normal arrangements in the order and are perhaps due to the fact that the house was first destined, by its founder, to be a cell of Lilleshall, an abbey of Arrouaisian canons, standing to the north-east of the Wrekin hill. The length of the destroyed nave, as shown on the plan, is only approximate and was not determined by excavation; the west end was, however, flush with the outer wall of the range west of the cloister, as shown on the Elizabethan plan, so that the margin of error can only amount to a foot or two. The church, then, was a simple rectangle, approximately 109 ft. long by 22 ft. wide. The only architectural features remaining are the rear-arch of the doorway into the sacristy and the doorway from the cloister (pl. xxxvi, figs. 1 and 2), a typical early thirteenth-century work, with a pointed arch of two orders, the outer being moulded; the jambs had each a free shaft, of which only the foliated capitals remain. Between these two doorways is the area which must be allotted to the stalls of the monks, the entrance from the cloister being set in a position, in regard to the cloister, exactly similar to that of the corresponding feature at Craswall. Just east of this doorway, on the outside, a small projecting foundation was discovered, probably the base of a stoup. There are no traces either here or at Craswall and other houses of the order of any windows in the side walls, but the Elizabethan plan shows three single-light windows in the east wall. The existing roof is apparently modern.

The *Chapel of St. Stephen* (38 ft. by 15 ft.) adjoins the quire of the church on the north and is entered from it by an early thirteenth-century doorway, immediately opposite the entrance from the cloister and having moulded jambs and splays and a pointed arch. On plan the chapel is a plain rectangle, vaulted in three bays by a ribbed quadripartite vault (pl. xxxvi, fig. 3), springing from triple grouped shafts between the bays and single shafts in the angles, all with moulded capitals. The diagonal, transverse and wall-ribs are chamfered and at the intersections are round bosses, carved with an Agnus Dei, a man's head, and a winged monster either swallowing or disgorging a man, respectively (pl. xxxvi, figs. 4–6). In the east wall is a window with shafted splays and formerly with a lancet-light having free shafts to the jambs, of which only the capitals and bases remain; the external face of the window has been reconstructed and the capitals and bases of the jamb-shafts set wider apart. The splays of an original window remain in the east bay of the north wall, and in the corresponding bay of the south wall is a double piscina of the same date. In the west wall of the chapel is an original doorway similar to that giving access from the church. At the north-west angle of the building is an added staircase of rough construction and leading up to the space above the vault; this would appear to have been

Fig. 1. Alberbury Priory: south side of church from cloister

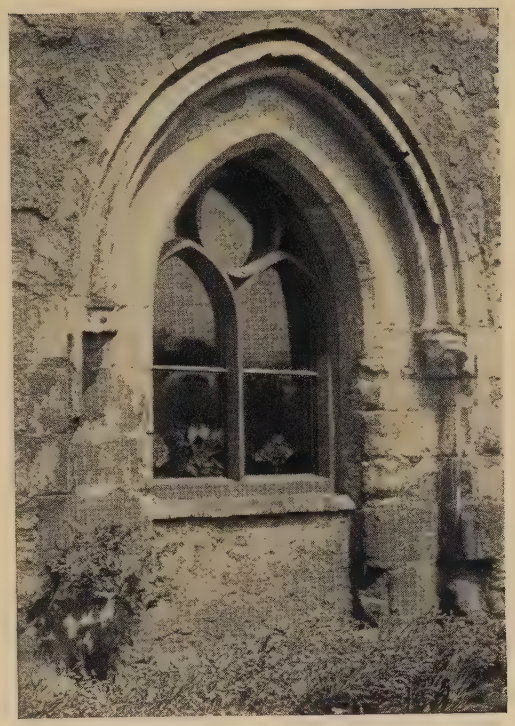
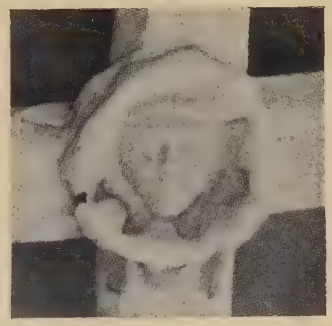


Fig. 2. Alberbury Priory: door between church and cloister

Fig. 3. Alberbury Priory: vault in chapel of St. Stephen



Figs. 4–6. Alberbury Priory: bosses in roof of chapel of St. Stephen

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built late in the fifteenth century, in connexion with the alterations undertaken by All Souls College, where the making of a doorway and two windows above the vault are referred to. The windows were probably dormers in the roof and have not survived. It may be suggested that this room between the vault and the roof was intended as a lodging for the chaplain whom the warden and fellows of All Souls were bound to maintain to serve the chapel in accordance with Bishop Mylling's award.

The chapel has now been divided into two main storeys and has an inserted cross-wall; the outer walls, furthermore, have been pierced by numerous modern windows and doorways. In position, proportions, and plan it corresponds very closely to those of a chapel attached to the Grandmontine church at Bois-Rahier-lès-Tours,[1] and may be compared with the chapel of St. Stephen at Grandmont itself.

The *Cloister* (47½ ft. from east to west by 45 ft. from north to south) was fortunately exactly defined, in position and size, by the discovery of the foundations of the south-west angle of the arcade wall. Against the outer south wall of the cloister, at this point, was found a length of 5 ft. of foundation, of slight character, the main wall itself having been grubbed up. This foundation may well indicate the position of the frater lavatory.

The *Eastern Range* has been entirely destroyed, but its width (17½ ft.) is determined by the broken-off ends of the side walls, where they adjoined the church. That the northernmost room in the range was the sacristy is indicated by the still-existing doorway from the church; there are, furthermore, slight traces on the church wall of a stone vault over it in two bays.

The remainder of the buildings can only be indicated from the Elizabethan plan; the foundations themselves had everywhere been grubbed up, except for a large patch of rough pavement in the middle of the *Frater*, towards the dais end. The survival of this may be entirely accidental or may indicate the presence of a central hearth, perhaps inserted after the suppression of the priory. The Elizabethan plan shows an inner and outer enclosure of the precinct, each with a gate-house, a block to the east of the claustral buildings, perhaps the infirmrary, various barns and outbuildings, and a mill-pool and mill. The site still retains a considerable length of the ditch bounding the precinct on the west, and the sites of the two gate-houses are still traversed by the farm road which passes through the enclosure. A field on the south of the precinct also shows the sinking for the former mill-pool which was embanked towards the east. All the arrangements can in fact be laid down on the large Ordnance Survey map.

[1] See fig. 2 and *Bull. Mon.* xlii, p. 252. The arrangement here is of course the reverse of that at Alberbury owing to the placing of the cloister on the opposite side of the church.

Grosmont Priory

The priory of Grosmont or Eskdale stood on the left bank of the Esk, six miles south-west of Whitby. The site is now arable land and a few worked stones are now the only remains of the building. The ruins of the church were standing in the first half of the last century, and a few particulars of its size and appearance have survived. The most valuable source of information, however, is the survey of the building made at the suppression and printed by Mr. William Brown in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's *Journal*[1] for 1885. The history of the building after its foundation early in the thirteenth century is scanty except for one important exception. A papal petition[2] of 1360 relates that 'Whereas a fire has destroyed the church, bell-tower, cloister, refectory, dormitory, and nearly the whole of the priory of Eskdale, together with the bells, vestments, and church vessels, so that help is needed to rebuild and replace the same, the pope is prayed to relax a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who give alms and visit the church on the five feasts of our Lord, the five feasts of St. Mary, those of Pentecost, of St. Bartholomew and the dedication'.

The *Church* is described in the survey as containing in length 70 ft. and in breadth 24 ft., with a low roof covered with lead having three glass windows, containing by estimation 60 ft. of glass and sixteen stalls of timber and the high altar and two altars in the body of the church. The Rev. George Young in his *History of Whitby*[3] (1817) says the then existing ruins of the church measured 100 ft. by 40 ft. These contradictory accounts may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The dimensions of the original church were 100 ft. by 24 ft. with a chapel on the north side as at Craswall and Alberbury, making the total width 40 ft. The convent was in a poverty-stricken condition in the fourteenth century as evidenced by the report of the escheator[4] in 1344, and after the disastrous fire of 1360 it is possible that the part of the quire of the conversi was abandoned, the conversi as a class having disappeared, a wall built across 70 ft. from the east end and the rest of the church with the north chapel suffered to go to ruin. A similar process appears to have been followed at the neighbouring Cistercian nunnery of Wykeham where the suppression survey describes a plain rectangular church, while the existing ruins provide undoubted evidence of a north transept. In any case, the dimensions of the survey indicate a proportion of length to breadth which, by analogy, is very unlikely to have been that of the original structure. The church at Grosmont terminated eastwards in a semicircular apse with a chamfered plinth. Of the remains of this

[1] *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, ix, pp. 213–15.
[2] *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, i, p. 352.
[3] Rev. George Young, *History of Whitby* (1817), i, p. 434.
[4] See *ante*, p. 181.

structure there is an excellent lithograph, published[1] in 1839, from a sketch of 1823 (fig. 8). From these particulars it may be gathered that the building followed the normal Grandmontine arrangement, even to the economy in windows, only three of which, probably those of the apse, are mentioned in the survey.

The monastic buildings lay to the south of the church and were planned on the smallest scale. They are recorded in the suppression survey in considerable detail, dimensions being given of the principal apartments. From these

Fig. 8. Grosmont Priory, Yorks.: Apse. From a drawing made in 1823.

data, they have been plotted on the accompanying plan (fig. 9). The diminutive cloister was 36 ft. square with alleys 7 ft. wide. The eastern range contained the dorter 36 ft. by 18 ft. on the first floor, with no doubt the chapter-house and sacristy beneath; the absence of any specific mention of the chapter-house goes far to prove that it did not here, as it did not at Craswall, project beyond the lines of the range. The east range apparently projected south beyond the dorter and contained the prior's chamber above and a room below, 20 ft. by 12 ft., with a fireplace and consequently to be identified with the warming house. The southern range contained the frater, 30 ft. by 18 ft., with buttery, pantry, and a large kitchen, 24 ft. by 18 ft., at the lower or west end of it. The western range was occupied by a larder and probably a cellar on the ground-floor and by a hall, 20 ft. by 14 ft., no doubt the guest hall, on the first floor, with a chamber, 14 ft.

[1] *Some Account of the Ancient Priory of Grosmont* (1839), pamphlet, p. 6.

by 12 ft., at the upper or north end and two small chambers at the south end. The upper storey of this range was of timber only, the lower storey being of stone.

Placed round the inner court were the following subsidiary buildings, an old hall (30 ft. by 18 ft.), a small garner (12 ft. square) of two storeys, a little

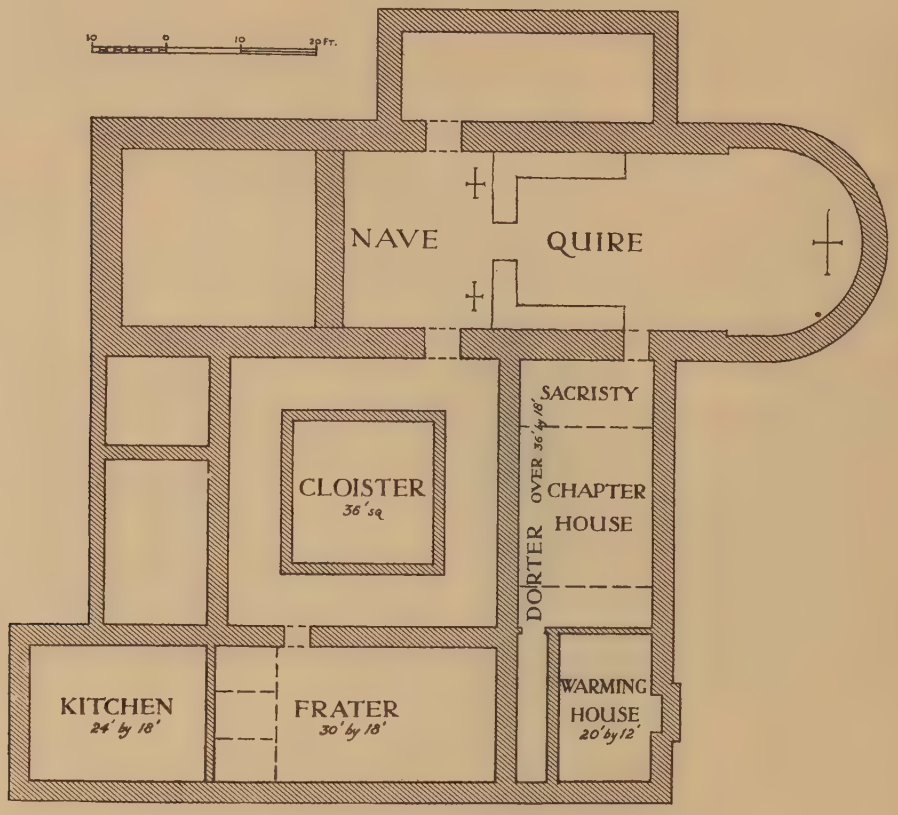

Fig. 9. Grosmont Priory, Yorks.: conjectural ground-plan.

water-mill, brewhouse and bakehouse, and a little chamber all in one range (40 ft. by 14 ft.), and a range containing a parlour, chamber, garner, etc. (100 ft. (?) by 14 ft.). Elsewhere, in the outer court, were a barn, cow-house, round dove-house, ox-house, two stables, and a work-house under one roof, a corrody-house, a stable and cart-house, an old stable, a kiln-house, and a swine-cote.

APPENDIX I

The following comparative dimensions are given of the English Grandmontine churches together with those of some French examples:

Craswall	107½	ft.	long	by	23½	ft.	wide	Le-Parc-lès-Rouen	111½	ft.	long	by 21½ ft. wide
Alberbury	*c.* 109	„	„	„	22	„	„	La-Haye-lès-Angers	110	„	„	„ 19 „ „
Grosmont	*c.* 100	„	„	„	24	„	„	Comberoumal	98	„	„	„ 21 „ „
Grandmont	283	„	„	„	36	„	„	Charbonnières	95	„	„	„ 19 „ „
Bois-Rahier-lès-Tours	142½	„	„	„	35	„	„	Puy-Chevrier	93½	„	„	„ 19½ „ „
L'Enfourchure de Dimont	134½	„	„	„	21¼	„	„	Lodève	68	„	„	„ 22½ „ „

APPENDIX II

DESCRIPTION OF GRANDMONT BY BROTHER PARDOUX DE LA GARDE

Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin, xxv, pp. 373 et seqq.

Grandmont est au pays et Comté de la Marche, entre Lymosin et Poictou, diocèse de Lymoges, quatre lieues distant de lad^e^ Ville; il est assis en bas lieu, entre grandes montaignes, hautes à merveilles, et fort pénibles à monter, et esloigné de grand chemin une bonne lieue; et combien qu'il soyt pays fort estrange et solitaire; ce non obstant, le lieu est singullier très-dévot et plaisant, veu le pays et le lieu où il est situé et assiz.

Premyèrement.

L'esglise, quatre cloistres, chappitre, la secrestairie, Réfectouer, Couvent, Salles basses, Chappelles, Revestiaire, et aultres Bastimentz sont bastiz et voultez de gros quartiers pierre de Grison, du tout bien taillée et ouvrée, selon la matiere que le tout est faict.

De l'Esglise.

La longueur de l'Ediffice de l'Esglise, dans œuvre, est de 95 grands pas (ou jambers) de longueur, et 12 grands pas (ou jambers) de largeur et ha 15 grandz toises de haulteur; le tout dans œuvre.

Cette Esglise est belle par excellence pour la grandeur qu'el'ha. Et la voulte d'ycelle n'est supportée d'aulchuns pilliers, comme sont aultres Esglises, fors que de quatre pilliers, ou colomnes qui sont fort beaulx et excellentz, qui sont aux quatre angules du grand autel, joignant le premier dégré d'ycelle.

Ces quatre pilliers sont fort somptueux et admyrables faictz en fascon de colomnes doricques, (alias joniques) lesquelz soubstiennent la voulte sur ledit autel (et la façon d'iceulx se nomme en latin Stria, Striae, Stries). Ce sont comme gouttieres engravées du long des colomnes de pierre, ou chanfrain creux (qu'on dit communément pilliers canelés) ils ne sont gros que le brasse d'homme; lesquels il faict fort beau veoir, et donnent gravité et fort bonne grace à la dite Esglise.

Les sousbassementz et chapiteaulx sont décentz et propre à yceulx, de sorte que le tout se convient et rapporte d'une très excellante fascon.

Sur chacun des dictz pilliers sont huict arcz entrelassés, sur le hault, portant la dicte voulte; et sont en nombre, sur les quatre pilliers, 32 arcz, entre lesquelz (*in caput anguli*) sont de grandz platines de cuyvre doré, ou sont engravées de grandz Rozes, anciennes armoyries des rois d'angleterre, fondateurs dudict Monastère, et de plusieurs Prieurés et maisons du dict ordre.

Du Grand autel, et de son ornement.

Entre ces quatre excellentz pilliers est le dit grand autel. Et tout le contretable que le davant d'ycelluy, est de cuyvre doré esmailhé; et y sont les hystoires du vieux et nouveau testament, les treze apôtres (sans doute en y comprenant St Paul) et aultres Sainctz; le tout eslevé en bosse et enrichi de petite pierrerie; le tout fort bien ouvré et excellent, aultant ou plus riche que si le tout estoyt d'argent.

Les chasses sur le dict autel.

Sur le contretable, au plus éminent lieu du dict autel est une fort belle eslevation et grand chasse, dans laquelle repose le corps de S. Estienne, confesseur, premyer instituteur de l'ordre de Grandmont. La dicte chasse est de cuyvre doré, esmailhé, enrichie de perles, de cristal et aultre petitte pierrerie, où est par personnages le pourtraict en bosse de la vie dudict Sainct entierèment. Dans ycelle aussy repose le corps d'un Saint Innocent (de ceulx que *hérodes* le scalonite feist mourir en judée pour J.C.) (*Added in margin by another hand*) D'autres disent que c'est le corps de l'enfant d'Ambazac, qui vit monter l'âme de S. Estienne au ciel; et cela est probable. Cet enfant mourut après cette vision.

à costé dextre, sur ledict autel.

Est une aultre chasse de Cuyvre, doré esmailhé, bien ouvrée, toute garnye de petite pierrerie, dans laquelle repose le Corps de S. Machaire, glorieux martyr (envoyé à Grandmont par Thibault, Roy de Navarre) un de ceulx de la légion de thèbes, qui prindrent mort soubz Maximin l'empereur, avecques le Duc Sainct Maurice.

Par dessoubz sont aultres deux chasses, où reposent les corps de deux ou troys vierges Martyres, du nombre de celles que souffrirent mort pour la foy de J.C. à Cologne agrippine, sur le Rihn, avec Sainte Ursule.

à costé senestre dudit autel.

Sont aultres troys chasses, aussy semblables, où reposent les corps de troys (ou quatres) aultres Sainctes vierges Martires, du nombre (aussy) de celles que furent martirizées à Cologne avecques Ste. Ursule.

Du Pavillon qu'est sur ledict autel, joingnant la voulte.

Entre les quatre pilliers est un fort beau Pavillon blanc, de fin lin, qu'est grand et large à merveilhes, attaché à la d^{e} voulte, avecques une grosse chayne de fer; et est retenu d'une grosse pomme de cuyvre doré, que ha fort bonne grâce.

L'autel de Prime.

Derrière le grand autel est celuy qu'on nomme de Prime où est une fort belle grand croix de cuyvre doré, esmailhé, ou il y ha du St. Boys de la vraye Croix, et plusieurs reliques de Sainctz, comme appert en un tableau de cuyvre doré, esmailhé qu'est au bas d'ycelle, laquelle est toute garnye de pierrerie. Au nombril du crucifix est un escarboucle, lequel n'a poinct de

lustre (?) ayant été offusqué par quelque moyen. (aulchuns disent que ce n'est qu'une corneline ; mays les anciens tiennent pour vray et disent que c'est un escarboucle.) Et les Religieux de ladicte abbaye disent une Messe haulte tous les jours, où ils assistent tous ordinairement ; et ceste Messe est expresse et ordonnée pour les bienfacteurs de tout l'ordre du dict monastère.

Des sièges du chœur régulier.

Le chœur des religieux est fort beau et clair ; et y ha double formes, faictes à la mode anticque, ayant deux centz sièges.

Assavoyr de chascun costé du dict chœur cinquante, vingt-cinq haultes et vingt cinq basses.

Le Chœur Sécullier.

En la nef y en ha aussi 200 pareilz et semblables aux susdictz, jadis pour les frères laicz et convers.

des Vitres.

En la dicte esglise et tout autour, d'un costé et d'aultre, il y ha 22 vitres de diverses couleurs, à la mode ancienne.

Entre lesquelles y en ha cinq par excellence riches, magnificques et belles, où sont par personnaiges toutes les figures du vieulx et nouveau testament. Celle du milieu fut baillée par haut et puissant Seigneur feu Messire Hugues Brun, comte de la Marche, comme appert au bas d'ycelle, où est son effigie et ses armes ; et au dessoubz, en motz latins est escript : *Hugo comes Marchie* (*hanc*) *fenestram vitream dedit beate Marie.*

De la chapelle St. Pierre.

Du costé de septentrion est une fort belle chapelle et bien voultée, desdiée en l'honneur de monsieur Sainct Pierre, et autre apostres.

Dans laquelle est le revestiaire où sont les ornemens ordinaires pour le service de la dicte esglise.

De la chapelle St. Estienne.

Du costé de mydi est une aultre chapelle bien-voultée desdiée en l'honneur de monsieur St. Jehan Baptiste et sainct Bartholomé, apostre, auquel avoyt spécialle dévotion sainct Estienne de Muret. Et toutes foys on l'appelle, communément, chapelle de St. Estienne, parceque le dict sainct estant premyèrement translaté de Muret au dit Grandmont, fut remys en sépulture en la d^e^ chapelle dans laquelle reposent les corps de plusieurs sainctz hermites, ses disciples et successeurs au Prieuré de Grandmont ; entre lesquelz y est celluy de son familier disciple et imitateur, nommé Hugo Lacerta, la vie duquel est cy devant escripte en bref discours laquelle tesmoigne la vie et saincteté du dict sainct.

Au bout de la nef de la d^e^ Esglise sont deux autelz. Celluy du costé de mydi est desdié en l'honneur de Saincte Catherine, et du commun est communément appellé l'autel de Sainct Sébastien, à cause de l'apport qu'il y ha, et reliques du dict Sainct Sébastien.

Celluy du costé de septentrion est desdié en l'honneur de Sainct Martial, apostre et prothoprésul d'aquitaine ; mais du commun est appelé de Sainct Fiacre, à cause de l'apport qu'il y ha et Reliques dudict Sainct.

(Follows : notes on the tomb of Guillaume Viscomte de Rochechouart and Marguerite his wife, before the altar of St. Martial)

Par le dehors de l'Esglise, à l'endroict dudit autel, du costé de septentrion joignant

le grand mur de l'esglise, en un lieu dict *Angleterre*, sont quelques sépultures d'aulchuns Seigneurs et princes angloys, desquels on n'a pas grand tesmoignage, toutes foys on tient que sont les sépulchres de quelques Gouverneurs du pays de Guyenne pour les Roys d'Angleterre, comme on tienne par vieulx tiltres anciens, et mesmement d'un *Branduzius*,[1] *Miles*, qui aymoyt fort Grandmont et estoyt seneschal et grand Gouverneur en toute la Duché d'Aquitaine . . . .

(Follows a list of monuments with the following indications of position:

Domp. Guillaume Pelhicier, 1st abbot, 'à l'entrée du chœur soulz le crucifix, près le siège des abbéz'.

Domp. Guillaume de Fumel, 8th abbot, 'Plus bas, derrière, assavoir soulz led. Crucifix au chœur secullier, à l'entrée du régullier.

Jacques Gaultier, 'vis à vis de luy, à la grand porte de l'Esglise, dans le Cloistre, près le benoistier.

Gérald, Evesque et Comte de Cahors, 'dans le chœur des Religieux au mylieu de lad^e^ Esglise,' tomb of bronze gilt and enamelled).

[1] Miss Graham has identified this person as Brandin, a noted captain of Routièrs, seneschal of Gascony, *circa* 1197, and seneschal of La Manche in 1202; see A. Richard, *Les Comtes de Poitou*, ii, pp. 312 and 404.

VIII.—*The Warden Abbey and Chichester Croziers.* *By* O. M. Dalton, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A., the late* H. P. Mitchell, *Esq., and* J. E. Couchman, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 19th March 1925

I. The Warden Abbey Crozier

This graceful crozier-head (pl. xxxvii, fig. 1) was found in December 1838 in a stone coffin containing an imperfect skeleton, on ground to the north-east of the cloisters supposed to have been the cemetery of the Abbey.[1]

It is of latten, and cast hollow, as may be seen in a damaged part on one side of the volute. The stem is eight-sided; in place of a socket at the base, it has a tang driven into the top of the wooden staff, a short piece of which is preserved; above the tang is a moulding. In respect of the octagonal cross-section and the use of a tang in place of a socket, this example recalls the larger of those found at St. Davids (*Archaeologia*, lx, pl. liii). Over the wood of the staff is passed a detached latten knop, above which is twisted a narrow band of metal to prevent splitting.[2] The metal has been gilded. The two holes in the leaf may possibly have been filled by beads of coloured glass, or originally left empty as they now are.

The Warden Abbey crozier-head belongs to a recognized type, that in which the end of a curved stem enclosing a large leaf issues from the mouth of a dragon or serpent, the neck of the monster merging in the volute above. The dragon's head is inconspicuous, and at first sight hardly catches the eye; in one example from St. Davids it has dropped out altogether, the craftsman confining himself to a purely foliate design. In view of the early appearance in croziers of the dragon-head threatening the Lamb within the volute, the motive may have a symbolic meaning. Those acquainted with Martin's valuable old article[3] on croziers will remember his ingenious theory of development from the type containing the threatened Lamb to that with the dragon and the leaf. He found the transition from the one to the other in a pastoral

[1] In 1925 it was deposited as a permanent loan in the British Museum by the kindness of the owner, S. Howard Whitbread, Esq., C.B., His Majesty's Lieutenant for Bedfordshire. The height of the crozier-head is 6·2 in. including the knop.

[2] It seems unlikely that this rather rough-and-ready arrangement can have been the original one. We should have expected some kind of metal collar, perhaps enriched with ornament.

[3] Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, iv, 1856, pp. 145 ff.

staff from Clairvaux in the Musée de Cluny, where a relatively small leaf hangs from the dragon's mouth; in this subject he saw the monster, after final defeat by the Lamb, reduced to the peaceful conditions of the Golden Age, as depicted in the Sibylline prophecy and in Virgil's fourth Eclogue. When we remember the wide acceptance of symbolism in the middle ages, we shall not too hastily decide against its presence in any given case.[1] It is true that in the Romanesque period the combination of monster and scroll became so general that in illuminated manuscripts, at least, where it was a common motive for capitals, it is nothing more than a variation upon a purely conventional theme. But in an object like a crozier, peculiarly suited to figurative treatment, the motive may well have preserved a symbolic meaning. If so, the dragon may represent the power of Evil, even though it harmlessly bites foliage. In ornament, the double-coiled volute, united with a foliation of the character here seen and with dragon forms, appears to be characteristic of the late twelfth century, when it is frequently found in illumination, both English and foreign. The resemblance between the design of the crozier-head and that of various English capitals[2] adds to the probability that it was made in this country; there is no reason to suppose that it was imported from abroad.

It may be conjectured that the Warden Abbey crozier dates from the last quarter of the twelfth century, a great period in the history of medieval art, of which, in its mingled simplicity and distinction, it is no unworthy representative; many will be found to prefer its singular refinement and grace to the more sumptuous style of the splendid crozier-heads at St. Davids. The abbey of Warden was founded in A. D. 1135 for Cistercian monks from Rievaulx. The crozier must therefore have belonged to one of the earlier abbots, and was presumably used by him in his lifetime; it is of too fine workmanship to have been made as funeral furniture. The two earliest abbots whose names are recorded are Simon, *c.* A. D. 1150, and Payn, mentioned in A. D. 1186 and 1195.[3] Unfortunately we cannot with certainty associate the crozier with either, and we do not know the names intervening between the two.

O. M. D.

[1] The symbolism of the crozier has been variously interpreted. Thus the dragon, or serpent, has been conjectured to represent wisdom, or the brazen serpent (lifted up as vanquished); but the more generally accepted view is that it stands for the Spirit of Evil.

[2] Cf. Henry Yates Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts* (1914), pl. IV, from Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* (the manuscript now in the British Museum, Add. 39943). Also the capital B in the York Psalter of *c.* A. D. 1170 in the Burlington Fine Arts Club *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts Catalogue*, no. 31, plate 30, and another initial from a rather later English Psalter, plate 32 in the same catalogue.

[3] *V. C. H. Beds.*, i, 365.

Fig. 1. The Warden Abbey crozier. (1/1)

Fig. 2. Fragments of crozier in coffin no. 1, Chichester Cathedral

Fig. 1. Crozier in coffin no. 2, Chichester Cathedral. (Slightly under $\frac{1}{2}$)

Fig. 2. Crozier in coffin no. 3, Chichester Cathedral. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1926

II. The Chichester Croziers

The record of the opening of four stone coffins in Chichester Cathedral is preserved on a copper plate, engraved by T. King of Chichester in 1830, now in the Cathedral Library. This plate, on which are representations of two of the skeletons as found, and of many of the articles found with them, records the fact that the coffins were opened on 31d June and 16th July 1829. Another reference, giving a little more help in the identification of the contents of the other coffins, is in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1829, pt. 1, p. 545. The writer of this latter note states that in one coffin was the crook of a crozier lying across the left shoulder with a chalice and paten of pewter, and under the right hand a gold ring with a black stone the size and shape of a barleycorn. This ring is similar to that found with the twelfth-century silver chalice and paten, but smaller. The *Gentleman's Magazine* further states that the coffins were 7 ft. in length and the staffs 5 ft. 8 in. in length. These reports make it possible to allocate most of the objects to their respective burials.

Coffin no. 1. A plain chalice and paten with a quatrefoil depression engraved in the centre with the Lamb and flag. A plain ring with a cabochon sapphire (the larger of the two similar rings found), and several fragments which formed the ferrule on the crozier between the crook and the staff (pl. xxxvii, fig. 2).

All that remains of this ferrule shown in the engraving is a few rings and fragments of bone, a gilt brass ring and remains of another, and a piece of the wooden core on which presumably they were mounted. The two best preserved bone rings are cut with stepped or embattled edges, the bottom step having a concave base on the one edge and convex on the other. One of these rings is engraved with guilloche, and the other with a band of halved flowers filling the spaces of a zigzag pattern. The engraving on both is filled in with red and black composition. Another fragment of bone has foliage apparently painted on it. The brass rings are pierced, and one edge is scalloped; one ring is circular, and the other (now in fragments) seems to have been of oblong octagonal shape—probably it came from the flattened base of the stem. This bone crozier was found, according to the information of the engraving, with the earlier chalice and paten, assigned to a date about 1180–1200, and a similar date may be assumed for it.

Until recently the fragments were enclosed in an iron box in which they could only be very imperfectly seen. When they had been removed from this box, it was found that they were much disfigured with a mass of beeswax, with which they had been stuck rudely together. They have now been separated

and disencumbered from this material and are at present laid in a glazed box in which they can at least be conveniently examined. Mr. Pycraft was kind enough to examine the rings and pronounced them to be of bone and not ivory.

Coffin no. 2. This should be one of the coffins to which reference is made in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The chalice and paten of pewter are probably one of a pair of those in the case in the Cathedral Library; the ring is similar to that found in coffin no. 1, but smaller, 'the black stone the size of a barley-corn' being a cabochon sapphire. Although T. King only mentions three croziers and describes only two, the *Magazine* accounts for a fourth and gives the length of the staff. The third existing crozier, that mentioned in the *Magazine*, is probably represented by the handsome gilt head described below, which would more probably pair with the twelfth-century ring with the small cabochon sapphire than with the thirteenth-century ring associated with the Lombardic lettered tomb; for which reason the description is given here.

This crozier-head (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1) is artistically the most interesting of the three. It is a heavy casting in bronze richly gilt and a good deal corroded with green and blue patination. The design is extremely spirited, the curved head of the crozier enclosing a grotesque beast and ending against itself in a leaf ornament. The wings and other details show careful chasing. The manner in which the beast is contorted to fill the space, its head, claws, and tail overlapping the edge, is a good example of the medieval artist's instinctive skill in design. It appears to be the same creature as one identified by Professor Adolf Goldschmidt in the twelfth-century St. Albans Psalter at Hildesheim as the Aspis or asp, there used as the type of Passion. The symbolism of its use in the crozier-head, curbed and confined by the circumscribing band, needs no elaboration. The chief features of the beast are the lizard-like body with two short legs, long pointed ears, and prominent snout. The crozier-head is of a curious section, round on the inside, and on the outside formed of two flat bevels meeting in a keel edge. It rises from a bulbous knop vertically grooved, with round tapering stem below.

To judge from its character this crozier-head would appear to date late in the twelfth century. There is no description of it on the engraving, but it may be the crozier mentioned as found under a grave-slab with inscription shown below on the right. The character of the lettering here, if accurately rendered, appears to be later. Possibly, however, the crozier belonged to the fourth grave opened, of which no particulars are given on the copper plate.

The object is partially encrusted with an earthy deposit from the burial, which appears to have been covered after its discovery with gold paint of some kind. Where it has been possible to remove this deposit the rich original gilding appears. Height 7·8 in.

Coffin no. 3. A chalice of silver with a shallow open bowl; the foot is decorated with a double row of foliations, the paten has an octofoil depression with the hand of blessing in the centre. The ring is an intaglio carved with a representation of Abraxas set in a thirteenth-century wire mount (*Arch. Journ.* xx, 234).

The crozier has the head of jet, roughly carved with a foliated scroll (pl. xxxviii, fig. 2). The holes made by the drill used in working the openings can be discerned here and there. The junction of the head with the stem is masked by a silver-gilt band with grotesque beasts, an angel's head, and floral decoration in relief. At the base of this mount the stem has been accidentally broken across, and just below this fracture a small silver mount is riveted on either side, of which the purpose is not obvious. The stem has also been split lengthways, and repaired with a bronze mount, and inasmuch as this mount is thoroughly patinated it seems clear that it is a medieval repair executed before the burial took place. The stem springs from a plain bulbous knop surmounting the wooden staff, of which several pieces remain, reduced by burial to the condition of tinder. Immediately under the knop the staff has been strengthened with a modern brass mount, and over this there remains a short length of the latten or bronze casing which covered a part or the whole of the staff.

The chalice and paten found in this grave are usually given a date in the second half of the thirteenth century, and this date accords very well with the character of the crozier. The scroll-head might even belong to the first half of the century, but the decoration of the silver-gilt mount hardly seems to admit of so early a date. The medieval repair of the stem may reasonably be regarded as proof that the crozier was made for use, in spite of its rough carving, and was not mere coffin furniture. Height above knop, 6·6 in.

Coffin no. 4. According to the copper plate the slab of the coffin was engraved round the edge in 'Gothic capitals'; it contained fragments of vestments, shoes, crozier parallel with the right side of the body, and on the right hand a gold ring with a square sapphire with the corners removed—in the centre of the sapphire was a small emerald and one at each corner mounted on the shoulder of the ring; this is in the Cathedral Library. The lettering on the cover stone and the character of the ring suggest a late thirteenth-century date. The crozier mentioned by T. King as being in this coffin appears now to be missing.

H. P. M.
J. E. C.

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